

Agriculture - 1921.

Condition of.

MONTGOMERY ALA TIMES

JANUARY 22, 1921

COTTON ACREAGE TO BE REDUCED.

It is pretty certain that the acreage in cotton this year will be decidedly reduced, if any cotton is planted at all, as most of the farmers are thoroughly disgusted with their experience this year.

The Albany Herald says that "the acreage in cotton this year will be materially reduced below that of last year may be accepted as a foregone conclusion, but the idea of planting no cotton at all this year, as seriously proposed by some of those who dispense free advice to the farmers is so impracticable, not to say impossible, as to seem absurd.

"That many farmers throughout the cotton-growing states will plant less cotton this year than they did last year may be regarded as a certainty, and the reasons for so doing are apparent, but it is idle to be talking about cutting out cotton entirely.

"To cut out cotton entirely would require a complete abandonment of the tenant and cropping system which has been in vogue for many years throughout the south, and would put the average negro farmer or renter of land out of business.

"Farm land rents are made payable in cotton, and with negroes for tenants it would be simply out of all human reckoning to devise ways and means of putting in a substitute crop for cotton that could be successfully cultivated and handled."

GEORGIA FARMER RAISES FINE HOGS

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Dublin, Ga., Jan. 27.—M. N. O'Neal, a Colored farmer living in Rentz, this country, has just killed four Poland China hogs whose combined weights amounted to 1,286 pounds, with an average age of 18 months. O'Neal has been raising hogs for sometime, and at the Oconee fair held in Dublin, won the first prize for the best display of home-made meat. His hogs, weights 270, 300, 313 and 400 pounds, respectively, were peanut and corn fed.

Negro Tenant Farmer Makes Success by Diversification of Crops. Dallas Express

1/22/21

Dallas, Texas, Jan. 20.—An example of unusually profitable returns from diversified farming, obtained by a Negro tenant, is cited by J. B. Waskom of Dallas in support of the idea of diversification and cotton acreage reduction. The Negro is John Turner, who is a tenant on Mr. Waskom's farm near Latex, just across the Texas line in Western Louisiana.

This man has been on Mr. Waskom's farm fifteen years, and he has gradually developed his own system of diversified farming, finding it profitable in former years, even when cotton and corn brought high prices. This year, however, his success was so conspicuous and his year's operations proved so profitable that Mr. Waskom believes it will be of advantage generally for his case to be known.

Holding His Cotton.

John Turner long ago found that cotton did not pay every year. This year he raised more than a dozen different crops on the fifty acres of sandy, piney woods land cultivated by him. He has nine bales of good cotton which he is holding for a better price.

Mr. Waskom was astounded when he visited the farm a short time back to learn what the Negro had accomplished, and the more so by contrast with another Negro tenant on the same farm who struck to cotton and corn and who has ended the year in debt, without funds to finance him for the next year. Mr. Waskom did not get exact figures on acreages in various crops planted by Turner, or on his returns, but in general his method of farming is indicated by the following:

Turner planted this year more than an acre of watermelons, and he got a very fine crop, many of the melons so large that he sold them for \$1 apiece. He also raised a crop of sweet potatoes, had several acres in peanuts, and also had crops of cotton and corn with cowpeas in the middles. In addition, he raised chickens, turkeys, geese, hogs and dairy cattle.

Rent and Debts Paid.

The Negro has ended the 1920 crop season with all rent and debts paid, with money in the bank, with his winter's supply of meat cured and put away for the winter, with his

barn full of corn for his pigs and a supply of extra good corn for meal for himself, his wife and little boy. He has another barn full of peanuts and peanut hay, has three large banks of sweet potatoes besides those he has already marketed, and has twenty-six head of cows and calves, as well as a few pigs to sell. He is keeping for this year's stocking of his place the best of his poultry, pigs and cows.

All on Fifty Acres.

All of this the Negro tenant has done on fifty acres of tilled land and done about the same amount of pasturage. Turner, Mr. Waskom says, is a constant reader of The Dallas Semi-Weekly Farm News, and he makes a close study of his farming and conducts the place on a businesslike basis. While he, with only the help of his wife and the small boy and some hired help, has made money for 1920, the other tenant referred to failed, although he had five adults in his family as hands. On the day Mr. Waskom visited the farm, Turner had taken to town a load of turkeys and geese, which he sold for \$70. He also had added to his income by taking the walnut crop from a tree near his house and selling the walnuts in Shreveport at \$1 a bushel.

"He does not miss a chance to make money out of the farm," Mr. Waskom said, "and at the same time his methods of farming are improving the land and adding to the value of the place."

THE NEW DISPENSATION.

Several days ago the Constitution in a leading editorial on "The New Gospel" urged the farmers of the south to set themselves to the task of applying the energy, effort, time and money that was heretofore put in that part of the cotton crop that is now lost forever, to something else that would produce certain returns.

We took the position that Georgia would never see another million-bale crop but that the effort and energy that was required to produce the former crop of twice that size could be put to other things which, with the proceeds of a half crop, would yield far greater returns than an all-cotton crop of two million bales.

Charles F. Leach, a prominent farmer of Florida, in writing of that editorial, says:

"Editor Constitution: Your editorial, 'The New Gospel,' is inspiring. As you will see by enclosed clipping from 'South-east Livestock,' I am trying to be just such an evangelist. In every county in the cotton belt there are some owners of large plantations who have the means to do in a large or small way just what these three Georgia men have done on the Arles plantation and have planned to do and partly accomplished in north Florida. The experiment stations do a lot of wonderfully good work, but the work these three Georgia men are doing in one year will

carry this section further along the pathway of progress in one year than an experiment station could in ten years."

CHARLES F. LEACH, Cherokee Farms, Route 1, Monticello, Fla.

In the article referred to Mr. Leach describes the process of rebuilding soil and rejuvenating lands that have become run down and impoverished through long years of uninterrupted "cotton cropping."

"Live stock production" is the sum and substance of the process—that necessitating, of course, the growing of feed crops in diversity and rotation.

As a typical illustration of what can be done in this direction, Mr. Leach cites a "worn-out" cotton plantation of 10,000 acres, lying between Monticello and Quitman, Ga., which is owned and operated by three well-known Georgians, who also own and operate the Arles plantation, near Americus, Ga.; A. J. Evans, Fort Valley; Charles E. Lewis, president of the Fourth National bank, Macon, and W. J. Calhoun, manager of the two plantations.

Speaking broadly of "cotton belt" land in general, the author quotes Mr. Calhoun as saying that he knows—

"of but one method necessary for success in building up and converting this worn out, barren soil into as fertile fields as can be found in the United States and that method is forage crops and live stock."

Also that—

"without good, well-made, permanent pastures and an ample supply of good leguminous hay and forage crops that can be harvested in the field by the cattle and hogs themselves, it is quite impossible to either improve the land or to make a profit on the live stock."

By applying this system these men have been able to earn handsome profits from their thousands of acres of land, which had reached a point of impoverishment that made cultivation under the archaic one-crop system practically prohibitive.

They produce no cotton whatever—nothing but crops that can be converted into beef, breeding stock, pork, dairy products, etc., and each year their land is gaining in fertility and productiveness.

After enumerating a number of physical improvements these progressive farmers have under way on their Florida plantation, Mr. Leach says that—

"When these improvements are made and the land has been built up to a high state of fertility, they then hope to see their great vision materialize and take shape. It may be a dream but if it is it is a glorious one. Myself, I believe it is bound to become a solid and substantial reality and when it does it will do more for the permanent prosperity of the southeast than anything that has heretofore been accomplished. "And this is their vision. When the land is uniformly fertile and productive and the improvements I have described and many others are completed they will divide this great plantation into 100 and 200-acre farms."

Mr. Leach makes a strong appeal to the farmers of the south "get away from cotton" and the diversification, emphasizing appeal by stating that "s of owners of large ntations in the cotton year will not receive rent from their tenants;" and that in if cotton goes above ere is danger that se plantation own- ue to live in idle- wns or keep store hey can again live tenants." "s cotton was un- "easiest" of pro- op that could be ; but those days weevil has at-

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and certainly no section in which returns from that sort of farming are more certain than in the south.

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Improvement of. NEGRO INTERESTED IN MUSCLE SHOALS

Montgomery Advertiser
(Special to The Advertiser.)
SEEFFELD, March 10—The leading negroes of the United States are vitally interested in the completion of the dam and operation of the nitrate plants here. This information has been given out upon the return of E. H. Fields, prominent negro business man of this city, from Washington, D. C.

This interest is manifested in the fact that, upon his return from the National Capital, Fields was accompanied by James Russell, Jr., manager of the Syndicate Press Bureau, the organization that furnishes the Negro press of the country with Washington news and the subjects of importance to the race. It is the wish of the manager of the Press Syndicate to acquire first-hand information of the great governmental projects here in order to inform the leaders of the race of the necessity of completion of the dam and the operation of the plant.

NASHVILLE TENN BANNER MARCH 30, 1921 PARTY FROM TUSKEGEE IN FLORENCE TONIGHT

Florence, Ala., March 29.—(Special.)—There will be held at the courthouse here this evening a mass meeting of the colored people of the Tri Cities to hear addresses from a delegation from the Tuskegee Institute. Prof. Carver, T. M. Campbell, agricultural representative; W. J. Calloway, director of the Julius Rosenwald fund, and B. F. Herbert, head of the agricultural department of the institute, are speakers of the occasion. President C. W. Ashcraft of the Florence Chamber of Commerce and Dr. H. J. Willingham, president of the Rotary Club, will be present and address the meeting. It is expected that the white citizens will be present also, as seats have been reserved for them.

The colored farmers of the state are vitally interested in the completion of the Wilson Dam and the great nitrate plant being built in the Muscle Shoals district.

URGES NEGROES TO ENGAGE IN FARMING TRENTON N J TIMES MARCH 19, 1921

The Tuskegee Negro Conference urged negroes to stay on the soil and purchase land, to increase the number and quality of their cattle, hogs and poultry, and to continue diversifying their crops, according to the Southern Workman. It called upon planters and bankers to assist in "carrying" the million negro tenants so seriously affected by the present cotton prices, and to give their tenants better dwellings and schoolhouses, better-paid teachers and longer school terms, in order to keep them satisfied and contented. It asked also for fair play and justice in the settling of accounts with negroes, for justice in the courts and for protection under the law.

Following the Tuskegee Conference, a group of men and women, who are deeply interested in the improvement of Negro rural life, adopted the following resolution: "It is the sense of this meeting that there be organized some sort of country-life committee whose purpose will be to discover the causes of discontent in rural life, and to offer such a program and remedy as will make people on the farm as prosperous, happy and well-protected as are people in the most prosperous, happy and well-protected city community in the world."

HOBOKEN N J OBSERVER
MARCH 28, 1921

ATTEMPT TO ASSIST NEGROES ON FARMS

The Tuskegee negro conference held in January last urged negroes to stay on the soil and purchase land, to increase the number and quality of their cattle, hogs, and poultry, and to continue diversifying their crops. It called upon planters and bankers to assist in "carrying" the million negro tenants so seriously affected by the present cotton prices, and give their tenants better dwellings and schoolhouses, better-paid teachers, and longer school terms, in order to keep them satisfied and contented. It asked also for fair play and justice in the settling of accounts with negroes, for justice in the courts, and for protection under the law.

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The following committee will continue the study of negro country life and will enlist the co-operation of other rural workers and students of country-life problems: Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute; Monroe N. Work, editor of the "Negro Year Book;" John Hope, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; Harry Simms, Tuskegee Institute, local district agent of the States Relations Service; Benjamin F. Hubert (chairman), director of Tuskegee's Agricultural Department; D. A. Williston of Tuskegee Institute; and William Anthony Avery of Hampton Institute.—Southern Workman.

CO-OPERATIVE FARM

Montgomery Advertiser
(Special to The Advertiser.)
AUBURN, ALA., April 20—Demonstrating the fact that it is profitable for the farmers to pool their products and sell in large quantities, County Agent Neal Priscock of Pickens county has recently submitted a report to the

Alabama.

headquarters of the Alabama Extension Service showing that the farmers of the Reform, Gordo, Carrollton and Ethelville communities have cooperatively sold this spring 1256 bushels of cowpeas and there received, on the average an increased price of approximately 50c per bushel. The total of these sales amounted to \$2,512.

Carrying the cooperative idea further the Pickens County farmers, with the assistance of Mr. Priscock, have recently brought cooperatively 211 tons of commercial fertilizer on which they made considerable savings by paying cash and buying in large quantities.

BIG ACREAGE TO BE DIVIDED AT SPRAGUE

Fifty Model Farms to Be Made Inviting For White Families

Mont. Advertiser 7/17/21
Establishment of a big "community farm" in Montgomery county comprising 5,000 acres of land divided into fifty subdivisions, is considered assured as a result of a real estate deal which has been practically completed. Announcement of full details and plans of the new enterprise, which is pronounced the biggest of its kind ever put over in Montgomery county, is expected within a few days.

Plans for the development call for the subdivision of an old Montgomery county plantation of 5,000 acres, located near Sprague about 18 miles from Montgomery. It is planned to erect silos on some of the subdivisions, and to plant several acres of each of them in pecans, peaches, plums and strawberries.

Erection of a potato curing plant will be one of the first matters to be given attention under the plan, and other steps will be taken to result in a model farm community being established in the county.

Reports of a big development plan in the county have been heard for some time, and it was stated Tuesday that the deal involving 5,000 acres and the development project had been actually consummated. The local dealer who is handling the deal, stated, however, that all details have not been arranged, and that several days must elapse before a full account of the plans can be given out.

It is hoped that the project when fully developed, will prove a model in the development of farm land in Montgomery county and give the first solution of the much discussed problem of dividing big plantations into small farms for sale to white farmers.

AGRICULTURAL REVIVAL IS ATTRACTING ATTENTION

Montgomery Advertiser
Great Interest Shown in Forthcoming Gathering of Educators and Agricultural Experts; Splendid Programs
9/8/21 Arranged For Meetings.

Much interest is being displayed throughout Montgomery and Montgomery county in the Educational and Agricultural Revival which is to be staged at the city auditorium September 12-23, according to a statement made by Jesse B. Hearin, manager of the Montgomery County Farm Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce, Wednesday. Mr. Hearin stated that from the point of attendance this revival will be a close rival of the recent religious revival staged in Montgomery by the Rev. Bob Jones.

Although the revival will not formally open until September 12, two interesting addresses will be delivered in Montgomery on the preceding Sunday. Dr. A. E. Winship, editor of the Journal of Education of Boston, will address a meeting at the First Presbyterian Church Sunday afternoon. Sunday night Hon. John J. Taggart will deliver an address at the Court Street Methodist Church. A party of the visitors will also visit the four consolidated schools of Montgomery county under the auspices of the civic clubs of Montgomery.

On Monday morning the educational revival will formally open at the city auditorium with Professor P. G. Holden in charge. This revival is to last throughout the week. Among the prominent speakers to address the meetings are A. E. Winship, J. J. Taggart, John W. Abercrombie, P. P. Claxton, Spright Dowell, J. B. Hobdy, A. F. Harmon, W. R. Harrison, Bart Cooper, Miss Dunn, Miss Day, Miss Cora Pearson, Miss Pierce, Miss Zela Wright, Miss Lura P. Markley, Miss Margaret Streeter, R. A. Hayne, R. S. Moody, and R. N. Starbush.

The county teachers will be called in to take part in the work of the educational week. An invitation will also be sent to the city teachers. Mrs. C. R. Bricken, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Brevard Jones will take an active part in the revival and will induce the women of Montgomery to attend as many of the meetings as possible. There will be a special meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs held this afternoon at which time this subject will be presented. The Parent-Teachers' Association has also been invited to take part in making this campaign a success. There will be a lecture every evening and special educational moving pictures to be shown.

Another interesting feature of the educational revival will be the Masonic Home Band, which will render daily concerts under the direction of Billy Krabe, director. The musical committee in charge of Pierce Chilton and Mrs. J. C. Haygood, has also arranged an attractive musical program with some of the best talent in Montgomery taking part.

Mr. Hearin stated that one hundred

work benches are now being constructed at the auditorium and approximately 42,000 charts printed to be distributed to vitalize education.

The educational week merges into the agricultural week by beginning the program arranged for this week on September 19 at 8:30 o'clock. An automobile excursion staged under the auspices of the Rotary, Kiwanis, Exchange and Civitan clubs will be the first feature of the week's events for the business men of the city. This excursion will be made to the consolidated schools at Pike Road and Ramer. The opening of the Ramer school will be conducted by the Rotary and Civitan clubs, the principal speaker being Hon. John McDuffy, congressman from the First Alabama district, while the school at Pike Road will be opened by the Kiwanis and Exchange clubs, the principal speaker being Professor P. G. Holden of Chicago. The afternoon of Monday will be given over entirely to organization purposes at the revival. Monday night there will be staged at the Country Club a genuine Alabama home product dinner under the auspices of the four civic clubs. Even down to the salt will come from Alabama, according to Mr. Hearin, as this product will be extracted from the old salt works in Clarke county, which was used to furnish the Confederate army with this commodity during the war between the states. Governor Thomas E. Kilby will act as toastmaster for the occasion and Professor P. G. Holden will be the principal speaker.

On the afternoons of September 20, 21 and 22 at the Curtiss-Johnson Aviation Field, one of the best tractor exhibits and farm demonstrations ever shown in Montgomery county will be staged under the auspices of local tractor and implement dealers. Among the tractors to be shown in the exhibit will be the Fordson, International Harvester Company, Avery, Oliver, John Deere, Moline and a number of others. One company will demonstrate ten tractors at one time, and will also set up a full and complete sawmill. Demonstrations of harrows, planters and stump pullers will feature the activities of the day. One firm will sow a portion of the field in small grain and winter cover crops. In addition to the above mentioned farm implements which will be placed on exhibit, milking machines, cream separators, bee supplies and a number of other agricultural implements will be placed on exhibit. This exhibition will be staged under the auspices of local machinery dealers, R. S. Tullis being chairman of the committee on arrangements.

EXPERIMENT STATION GROWS NEW OIL PLANT

Tung-Oil Trees Do Well in Alabama as Shown by Growth at Auburn Under Care of

State Horticulturist

The Montgomery Advertiser
9/23/21
Miss M. Dawson, Montgomery County peach and pecan grower, returned on Tuesday from Auburn, bringing with him heavily fruited branches of Tung-Oil trees grown at the state experiment station by Prof. G. C. Starcher, horticulturist of the extension service of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The leaves of the tree are large and the fruit looks like an enormous fig, but contains four big seeds.

As the name implies, the Tung-Oil is originally a Chinese product, but experiments in California, Louisiana and Florida, and now in Alabama, have shown that it can be successfully grown in America. The value of the tree is in the production of a high quality of oil from the fruit, light in color and of remarkable body when submitted to heat. The product is used for several types of paints and enamels and in the manufacturing of water-resisting varnishes. Approximately ten million gallons are imported from China annually by the paint, varnish and linoleum makers of the United States.

It has been proven that the Tung-Oil tree will grow in cut-over pine lands, of which there are thousands of acres in Alabama uncultivated, and the experiments at Auburn by Professor Starcher are to obtain all information on the subject in preparation for an expected demand for such information. The paint and varnish manufacturers of the country are encouraging the work in order to be assured of their supply.

Mr. Dawson also brought back some samples of Schley, Stewart, Mobile and other varieties of pecans grown at the experiment station, and pronounced to be perfect in quality and size. He was very complimentary regarding the methods in use by Professor Starcher and his associates in growing the nuts and the care exercised in keeping the orchard in the best of condition.

Agriculture - 1921.

Improvement of

FARMERS EXPRESS

DESIRE TO CO-OPERATE

East Tennessee Herald 3/10/21

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Helena, Ark., March 7.—Negroes of Phillips county, who are members of the Negro Civic League, have evidenced their desire to co-operate with white farmers and business men in a letter to the civic bodies of Helena, which has been given wide publicity. The league was organized January 17.

Agriculture - 1921.

Florida

Improvement of.
HARDING'S "NEAREST
2/12/21
Hanslon (C) NEIGHBOR".

Miami, Fla.—While at Adam's Key, President-elect W. G. Harding's nearest neighbor is "Parson" Jones, a famous man of the race in these parts, who lives on Porgy Key. The "parson" years ago moved out to this barren key and took possession of it and there he reigns supreme today. The key was originally a barren coral island, but a visitor told Jones there was a fortune to be made raising limes. The old parson puzzled his head for a long time as to just how he could plant lime trees on a coral stroud, but an inspiration came to him and he blasted 3 holes in the rock, imported lot of fertile soil to fill the holes and planted trees in the soil. Today it is said his income from limes amounts to between \$15,000 and \$20,000 a year, despite the disappearance of the one time popular gin rickey.

From The Gazette,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Improvement of.

NEWPORT NEWS VA HERALD

APRIL 26, 1921

COLORED FARMERS.

In driving through the counties of the First Congressional district recently, our attention was directed to colonies of colored farmers here and there. The farms were small, but they seemed to be well tilled and the farm houses were neat in appearance and very homelike. White men with whom we conversed said the colored farmers were thrifty, well behaved and law-abiding, and, altogether, were good and useful citizens. Near to each of these colonies are convenient school houses, and the children are all receiving a common school education. The colored residents also have their own churches and places of entertainment, and they are contented and happy, according to the testimony of their white neighbors.

Needless to say, there is no "race problem" in those sections where the colored farmers reside and operate. They are in no way competitors of the whites, and there is nothing to fuss about. The saloons have been eliminated, and there is no corrupting influence and there are no agitators.

It is the ideal life for the colored people, and the Hampton Normal Institute, the Tuskegee Institute and kindred educational institutions in the South are doing noble and effective service in training men and women for the agricultural industry.

MEMPHIS TENN APPEAL

JULY 27, 1921

Genuine Uplift.

Elsewhere in this issue of The Commercial Appeal we reproduce a most sensible utterance from the editorial columns of the New York Herald on the subject of "Thrifty Negro Farmers." The opening statement that "if farming is to be as attractive an occupation as it ought to be there must be a better reward for a year's work than a mere living," is fundamentally true; but the implications contained in the subsidiary clause, that "board and clothes, and that is all farming has meant in many instances, are guaranteed at less toil in almost any form of menial service," have little foundation in fact as it relates to negro labor in the south.

There is not a land owner in the section served by the Herald, or anywhere north of Mason and Dixon's line, who would consider for a single moment dealing with hired farm help or tenants upon terms such as are universal in the south. No such financial risks are taken anywhere as are represented by the stupendous total of advances, practically without security, from southern land owners to negro tenants. And it is no small tribute to the fidelity of the negro that he has in large measure met the reciprocal obligation resting upon him under this arrangement.

But there is scarcely a negro farm laborer in the south who performs "a year's work," and, until the present disaster overtook agriculture, it was

increasingly difficult to secure a day's work from one of them. They are past masters in the arts of evasion and can find more ways in which to avoid work than any class except professional gentlemen of leisure. This, we admit, is doubtless due in considerable measure to the lack of adequate annual reward, but by intelligent and unremitting toil the negro could largely overcome this.

Another important reason for the negro's lack of success is his well-known spendthrift habits. There are no limits to the credit he will absorb, as illustrated by an amusing Mississippi incident. Observing a merchant unloading a car of flour, a negro tenant inquired: "How much dem baals flour wuf, boss?" "Seven dollars a barrel for cash and \$21 a barrel on credit," was the reply. "Gimme three iv dem baals on credit," was the instant response.

As the Herald correctly affirms, throughout the south, in increasing numbers, negroes are passing from the status of tenants to that of land owners, and many of them are meeting with noteworthy success. And its account of the work of vocational agricultural schools among the negro boys in North Carolina is illuminating. Just here, in our opinion, is the point at which educational work among the southern negroes should be pressed. The simplest mind can see the effect of such training in the results obtained. Habits of production and thrift will inevitably beget content-

ment, which leads to peace. But the propaganda for "rights" and equality lead inevitably in a contrary direction. The North Carolina method, as described by the Herald, is genuine uplift.

*Silk Stockings and
Cotton Farmer
Ford Doctor Bills
Mississippi 8/13/21*

It is most unbelievable the amount of actual cash money that our people received out of the cotton crops during the war period and it is almost beyond belief to claim that we haven't any money now. We certainly believe had the cotton farmers of the Atlantic Sea Board States, not used to handling large sums of money out of cotton crops, been here they would have a considerable part of that money now. For instance out of the 1918 crop, the Syndicate tenants in final settlements received the sum of \$436,644.22 and out of the 1919 crop \$328,265.15. This is not taking into account the weekly pay rolls amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars to the day farm hands and timber fallers and sawmill hands and the Syndicate railroad section hands.

For instance on Carson Plantation the tenants received in 1918 \$34,675.43 and in 1919 \$9,785.00. This, too, is not counting the amount received by the day hands. This paper wonders whether any of the Carson Plantation tenants have any of that money hid away now or did they spend it for silk stockings, silk shirts, satin dresses, railroad tickets, joy riding and \$10.00 a quart booze and Ford doctor bills? If we did there is no earthly use in us blaming the white folks for our present condition. If the times ever get better, and we have every reason to believe they will, our folks will know better how to value a dollar.

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Four Hogs Weighed Total of 1286 Pounds Recently DUBLIN GA HERALD JANUARY 3, 1921

M. N. O'Neal a negro farmer living near Rentz, reports the killing of four heavy Poland China hogs a few days ago which weighed an average of more than 300 pounds. The four weighed when dressed 1286, the separate weights being 270, 300, 313 and 403 pounds. All were about 18 months old, and were fattened on peanuts and corn.

O'Neal took first prize for the best display of meat at Oconee Negro fair held in Dublin last fall, winning a blue ribbon and \$10 in cash. He believes in raising hogs as well as cotton and has found they pay him well for the trouble.

COTTON CHOPPER WILL MAKE WORK IN DIXIE CHEAPER

Atlanta Constitution

With a newly-invented cotton chopper, one man and a horse can do the work of eight men, according to the claims of D. S. Bazemore, of this city, inventor of the new machine. The machine, recently patented, has been used successfully on the Bazemore farm in Bibb county for some time.

A model of the machine is on exhibition at Mr. Bazemore's home, 53 Pulliam street, where persons interested may see it in operation. The inventor has been a salesman in this city for twenty years, and is a member of nine fraternal orders.

Chronicle's Position on Agricultural Education

(From The Augusta Chronicle.)

Since The Chronicle came out, a week or so ago, with the suggestion that it might be a good plan to junk the district agricultural schools because many of them were not functioning as such, there has been widespread discussion from far-famed Rabun Gap to the equally famous Tybee Light. We have been interested in reading the pros and cons on the subject from the pens of many editors. We find some who are firmly convinced that those not functioning should be scrapped, and thus rid the state of that expense, or else converted into real agricultural schools that will be a source of pride to the state. We find other editors very vehement in the defense of the schools, assuming that all of them are functioning simply because the one in their respective locality is doing very well. Indeed, one or two editors have become almost acrimonious in their remarks about The Chronicle's suggestion, particularly Editor Herring of Tifton, and Editor Jim Williams, of Greensboro.

On the other hand, we find The Atlanta Constitution editorially taking the position that these schools, as a whole, are not performing the services their founders expected them to and that they should be made into real schools or junked. James A. Hollomon, of The Constitution, went into the matter with some care and came to the conclusion that the agricultural schools were not functioning properly, while Senator Alvin Golucke, of the nineteenth senatorial district, has introduced a bill calling for a minute investigation of all the district schools, their system of teaching and what they teach, the number of graduates since 1910, the number who have followed agriculture since, and the cost of each graduate to the state. Mr. Golucke, it may be mentioned, is not enthusiastic over the district schools, having been a trustee of the tenth district school for ten years. We happen to know of another trustee of the tenth district school who is right now in favor of abolishing it.

We have been quite interested in Editor Jim Williams' charge that the movement to abolish the schools comes from the editors of city newspapers who are naught for the farmers of Georgia. We would like to say in our behalf that the editor of this city newspaper was born on a farm, reared on a farm, is a farmer now (unfortunately at this particular time), and that The Augusta Chronicle devotes more space, more pains and spends more money on providing up-to-the-minute information to farmers than any newspaper in the south. Ask any farmer in eastern Georgia or western South Carolina.

The very fact that The Chronicle knew these schools were intended to help farmer boys and girls and were not functioning right is the very reason why we started this agitation. We know that the farmers in this and other sections of Georgia do not regard the agricul-

tural schools with that esteem that they should, and this esteem should be provided or the schools should cease to function. As a matter of fact, we still believe that serious agriculture should be taught to boys and girls from 16 years of age up, and that a magnificent agricultural college to which high school graduates all over the state could matriculate in, would be the proper system. We further believe that it is an uphill job to make practical farmers out of boys and girls who should be studying regular high school branches and who desire to play in their spare time instead of working an agricultural experiment farm.

The agricultural schools in some of the districts appear to be doing very well, especially the one at Tifton, while some others are not functioning at all.

The question is: whether the state will junk the whole system of schools or bring those that are not functioning up to a proper standard of efficiency. We imagine that the legislature will adopt the latter course. They will, most likely, not make all of the schools pay the penalty for the ones that are not doing the work their founders expected them to do. The movement has done just exactly what The Chronicle expected it would. It has directed state-wide attention to a matter which was giving no one any concern. It will mean that the state will receive a dollar's worth of results from every dollar of appropriation, if this be possible; it will mean that instead of an indifferent semi-grammar school, semi-high school course with a smattering of agriculture, there will be a real course of practical instruction in the high school branches with such agriculture as the children may properly assimilate.

An investigation will disclose those schools that are doing good work and those that are not; how many students, what branches of study taught, the system of teaching and all about them. We may expect a general improvement in all of the schools from the fire they have been under. And The Chronicle feels that it has done a constructive service to the people of Georgia in calling attention to facts concerning these agricultural schools. If certain schools are doing all that their founders expected them to, and we included them in the general charge and urged that they also be abolished, along with those that do not function, we are sorry we did them an injustice. But, whatever may be the outcome, whether the legislature in its wisdom finds that the schools are filling a want, or whether it is found that some of them are and others are not, only good can come of it.

And we hope the people of Georgia who do not know The Chronicle as well as do the people in this section, will realize that this newspaper wants agricultural education developed to the utmost. We may disagree with some as to the method, but there are none more sincere in the earnest desire for the advancement in agricultural education than The Augusta Chronicle.

Georgia

Improvement of.

**MARYLAND NEGROES
BUYING BACK AUTOS**

**Cars, Purchased During Potato Boom
And Lost In Slump, Regained
By Strawberry Profits.**

**THEIR CROPS APPARENTLY
PROTECTED DURING FROSTS**

**Berries, Selling At \$10 A Crate,
Bring Average Of \$1,500 Per**

Carload.

BALTIMORE MD. FVE. SUN
MAY 23, 1921

It begins to look as if the negroes of the lower Maryland counties and the Virginia section of the Eastern Shore are born under lucky stars. Two years ago they bought \$5,000 automobiles out of their \$10-a-barrel potatoes. When the slump came they had to let them go, but now \$10-a-crate strawberries enable them to buy back, in many cases, the same cars.

This is the tale that Chief Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue Lewis M. Milbourne brings back with him from the Eastern Shore, where he has spent a few days looking after his farming and canning interests.

Made Killing On Potatoes.

It will be remembered that two years ago, when potatoes were bringing \$10 a barrel and every potato-patch proprietor was making a killing, the negroes of this section of the Eastern Shore scorned "flivvers" and the like, and would have nothing but touring cars of the \$2,000 to \$5,000 class. It was a case of "easy come and easy go."

Then suddenly potatoes took a tumble in prices, and inasmuch as they cannot be substituted for gasoline, automobile paint and accessories that keep such traveling luxuries going, the negroes sold their cars and once more started visiting in buggies and on horse or mule back.

But the Eastern Shore negro seems destined to ride in automobiles. This year the frost and cold weather spared more of the small crops of strawberries raised by negroes than those of the whites. According to Mr. Milbourne, negroes all along the lower part of the Shore are hauling in their berries and getting fancy prices, ranging anywhere from \$6 to \$11 a crate.

Queer Effect Of Frost.

The frost and cold weather had a peculiar effect upon the berry crop all through this section, according to Mr. Milbourne. It seemed that the patches located on the most exposed or elevated land and the extreme lowlands fared much better than those that were located on ordinary lowlands. This was

thought to be due to the fact that the ordinary lowland crop was further advanced, and therefore caught the effect of the frost at a time when the most damage could be done.

It was also observed that in the very low lands the crops were partly saved. Mr. Milbourne said that this was probably due to the fact that such lowlands were below the sea level, and therefore got the benefit of the softening influences of the salt in the soil.

Average Car Yield \$1,500.

Regardless of the whys and the wherefores, however, it seems that the negroes were lucky in having their crops better located. They are, therefore, reaping a rich harvest again, just as they did during the big potato year.

Mr. Milbourne said that 38 carloads of berries were shipped from Marion, located in the Virginia part of the peninsula, one day last week. The average yield for each car to the grower, he said, was about \$1,500.

Agriculture - 1921.

Improvement of.

ENCOURAGING SIGNS FOR 7/16/21 COTTON.

Cotton Farmer
The new Comptroller of the Currency in a recent address to the bankers, said: "You may take it from me, that those who are vested with some measure of authority to guide the broader financial policies of this country have a fairly accurate conception of the vital necessity to encourage and sustain the production of our cotton crop..... I can give assurance that the utmost support will be given by the government's financial authorities to every effort at extension of credits by which foreign trade may be developed." Now this is a very encouraging pronouncement on the part of so high an authority in the financial life of our country and of the world, but it strikes the layman toiling in the cotton fields that possibly a higher authority might veto his pronouncements. According to the former Comptroller of the currency, Hon. John Skelton Williams, his efforts to prevent the sudden deflation of the currency and the confiscation of the cotton crop was nullified by powers greater than his. The Manufacturers Record and a number of eminent Southern bankers agree on placing the blame on the Federal Reserve Board. This paper is not well enough versed to properly place the blame, but we do know as in the case of Jonah and the whale, there was swallowing done.

Then again, the Indian merchants are now coming to the Galveston market for cotton, instead of going to Liverpool; and shipments are being made direct to India. Why should our cotton be shipped to Europe for distribution over the world? Let us ship from Galveston, New Orleans and Mobile direct to the spinners; and then instead of our cotton going to Germany for manufacturer, and shipped to South America, let us spin it here in the South and ship it to the South American markets. The day of producing cotton for "victuals and clothes" is a thing of the past. We have a product the whole world needs and must have. It would be an amazing pity to allow plutocrat financial cornerers to so manipulate

the government agencies as to confiscate our crop.

They used to lay it on plutocrats of Wall Street, but it seems now that the plutocrats not only control Wall Street but all the cotton and money streets in the United States. It is to the interest of the government that the cotton industry be saved from utter destructions. This is the crucible cotton crop of all crops raised since the emancipation of our people.

We believe the cotton industry is coming into its own and as we are by training and by inclination the best cotton growers on the globe if we will stick to our bush, we confidently believe we will in the end come out more than conqueror. The man with a credit based on cotton producing will be in a better condition than the man "hunting a job in some large city."

7/16/21 THE COTTON CROP.

Cotton Farmer
The failure of cotton to bring wealth to its producers is both tragic and absurd. The southern states have a monopoly on cotton production which makes every other alleged monopoly in the world seem foolish. Great Britain, France and other countries have searched the globe for cotton land. The world's demand for cotton goes on increasing year after year. Every twelvemonth sees new uses develop for this remarkable fibre. Only the southern states seem to be able to grow it, and yet it has never made them rich. Wherever cotton is the principal crop there you will find public schools in tumbled-down shacks, underpaid teachers, a high percentage of illiteracy and a school term ranging from one month to four. Wherever cotton is the principal crop there you will find bad roads poor bridges and the highest interest rates.

Some way out of this difficulty must be found. It would be highly advisable for the exporters and spinners of cotton to send commissions into the southern states and make a very careful study of the cost of producing cotton. Nothing very definite is known on that subject yet. The state department of agriculture

Mississippi.

of Texas estimated in the fall of the year 1919 that the cost of producing cotton that year was approximately 40 cents a pound. Cotton was then selling at 44 cents a pound.—Chester T. Crowell in The Nation's Business.

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YOUNG MEN'S UNION OF PRINCIPLE
NUGENT PLANTATION.

Amutual aid society to care for the sick members and bury the dead.
Regular First Monday night in the

month at 8 o'clock. Sick Committee: E. L. Dagger, Albert Eastland and Eugene Carter, E. L. Carter, Recording Sec.; W. M. Glasco, Treasurer; Thornton Lee, Vice-Pres.; Rev. H. Gardner, President.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

Triumph Plantation—The object of this society is to take care of sick and bury the dead. Meets on the 4th. Sunday in each month, at 11 a. m., at Little Rock Baptist Church. Chairman Sick Committee—Isabella Campbell, for females. Treasurer—William Campbell. Secretary—Stacy J. Turner. President—G. G. Gallin, Vice-President—Matilda Wilson.

WILLIAMS CHAPEL MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH.

Dixon Plantation—Pastor's Day—second Sunday. Covenant, First Sunday. day School, 9 a. m. Rev. Lewis McLe-Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Sunmore, pastor. James V. Clay, Supt. S. S. James V. Clay, Clerk of Church.

MOUNT OLIVE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH.

Carson Plantation—Pastor's Day—Fourth Sunday. Covenant, Third Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Sunday School, 9 a. m. Rev. M. S. Buckner, Pastor. Andrew Maberry, Clerk. Randall Buckner, Supt. S. S.

SPRINGFIELD MISSIONARY.

Isole Plantation—Pastor's Day, First Sunday; Covenant, Fourth Sunday; Prayer meeting, Wednesday night. Preaching, Friday night. Sunday School 9 a. m. Rev. M. B. Williams, Pastor; Geo. Hamilton, Clerk.

GREENFIELD MISSIONARY BAPTIST

Eutaw Plantation—Pastor's Day, 1st. Sunday. Covenant, Fourth Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Tuesday night. Sunday School, 9 a. m. Rev. Hugh S. Capps, Pastor, R. W. Weeks, Clerk; R. P. Plator, Supt. S. S.

EUTAW MISSIONARY BAPTIST

Eutaw Plantation—Pastor's Day, 3rd. Sunday. Covenant, Second Sunday. Prayer meeting, Wednesday night. Sunday School, 10 a. m. Rev. M. B. Williams, Pastor, W. A. Fines, Supt. S. S. Geo. Morey, Clerk of Church.

LITTLE ROCK MISSIONARY.

Triumph Plantation—Pastor's Day—Third Sunday. Covenant, Second Sunday. Prayer meeting, Wednesday night. Sunday school, 9 a. m. Rev. C. C. Smith, Pastor. C. W. Williams, Supt. S. S.

WARD'S CHAPEL MISSIONARY

Lake Bolivar Plantation—Pastor's Day—Second Sunday. Covenant, First Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Sunday School 9 a. m. Rev. Edmund Johnson, Pastor; Bob Myers Clerk of Church; Rev. Brown Halfacre. Supt. S. S.; Lizzia Love, Sec'y S. S.

MOUNT TINNIE MISSIONARY

Belmont Plantation—Pastor's Day—Fourth Sunday. Covenant, Third Sunday. Prayer meeting, Thursday night. Sunday School, 9 a. m. Rev. L. H. Winn, Pastor. R. M. Fowler, Clerk; Buster Reynolds, Supt. S. S.

HOME BENEFIT SOCIETY NO. 9

Belmont Plantation—Charles Hunter, President; Henry Williams, Vice-Pres.; Will Mitchell, Secretary, Sister L. V. Alexander, Treasurer; Sonie Brown, chairman Sick Committee on males. Sister Cynthia Brown, chairman Sick Committee on females. Meeting nights, first and third Thursday nights in each month.

ST. PAUL MISSIONARY BAPTIST

Moore Plantation—Pastor's Day, 1st. Sunday; Covenant, fourth Sunday; Sunday school every Sunday, 9 a. m.; Rev. Jno. L. Williams, Pastor; R. H. Hunter, Clerk; Rev. T. W. Williams, Supt. Sunday school.

UNITED ORDER OF FRIENDS AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS

Carson Plantation—A mutual and society for caring for sick members and burying the dead members. Meeting nights, first and third Tuesday nights in each month. Organized June 20th, 1916. Doctor's bill and medicine, \$1-400.00. Funeral and burial expenses, \$350.00. Benevolent gifts, \$35.00. Andrew Taylor, president; Thos. D. nnis, secretary of finance; Anderson Dees, recording secretary; Ed Dixon, treasurer; Jincie Davis, Chm. Sick Committee.

WOMEN'S HOME MISSION OF JERUSALEM MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH, LAKE VISTA.

An organization for the purpose of doing good and charitable work; such as aiding our schools, the sick and afflicted, and also, the poor and needy. Whosoever will, may join up and help feel each others' case. Monthly meeting, 1 and 3rd Saturdays of each month, at 10 o'clock. Mrs. Matilda Grubbs, President. Mrs. Amelia Stewart, Vice-Pres. Mrs. Rosie Dorsey, Fin. Sec. Mrs. Delilah Grubbs, Rec. Sec. Mrs. Susie Harris, Treas. Rev. Charles Scott, Pastor.

SISTERS OF CHARITY.

Belmont Plantation—Malinda McLe-more, President; R. W. Whiting, Vice-President; Sister A. Glasker, Secretary; Mary Whicher, Treasurer; Bro. J. D. Travers, Chairman Sick Committee for males; Sister Sophia Eastern, Chair-man Sick Committee for females; Rev. L. R. Redie, Society Preacher.

ST. THOMAS MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

Belmont Plantation—Pastor's Day—First Sunday. Covenant, Fourth Sun-day. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night, Sunday School, every Sunday. Rev. H. H. Davenport, Pastor. Frank Irwin, Clerk. Mary A. Reddie, Supt. S. S.

NUGENT CHAPEL MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH.

Nugent Plantation—Pastor's Day—Fourth Sunday. Covenant, Third Sunday. Prayer Meeting Wednesday night. Sunday School, 9 a.m. Rev. W. B. Roberson, Pastor. Walter Smith, Clerk.

CHURCH OF LIVING GOD GROUNDS AND PILLARS OF TRUTH.

Nugent Plantation—Pastor's Day—1st Sunday from 12 to 2. Rev. Joe Mills, Pastor.

JERUSALEM MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH.

Lake Vista Plantation—Pastor's Day—Third Sunday. Covenant, second Sunday. Prayer Meeting—Monday night. Sun-day School—9 a.m. Rev. G. W. Gaylor, Pastor. Dave Alexander, Clerk. Sam Turner, Supt. S. S.

CEVEN STAR MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

Triumph Plantation, on East Side of railroad, near Depot. Pastor's Day, fourth Sunday. Covenant, Third Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Sun-day School, Sunday, 9 a. m. Rev. S. L. McLe-more, Pastor; Alex Jones, Clerk of Church.

SILVER MOUNT MISSIONARY.

Fox Plantation—Pastor's Day, First Sunday. Covenant, Fourth Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Rev. S. L. McLe-more, Pastor, Porter Chal-mers, Clerk.

LITTLE BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH

Lake Vista Driveway, Lake Vista Plan. Pastor's Day—Second Sunday. Class Meeting, Fourth Sunday; Prayer Meet-ing, Wednesday night; Choir Practice, Friday nights. Missionary Society meets twice per month. Official Board Twice a month. Allen Christian Endeavor League every Sunday at 5 p.m. Sunday School Sunday at 9 a.m. Quarterly Con-ference same dates as Davis Chapel. G. L. Sadler, Pastor; Eddie Lee, Sec-etary of Church. W. M. Harrison, Su-perintendent of Sunday School.

ST. JOHN M. B. C.—REX.

Pastor's Day, Fourth Sunday. Cove-nant, Third Sunday. Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night. Sunday School every Sunday at 9:30 a.m. Rev. A. M. John-son, Pastor. G. C. Burns, Clerk.

PILGRIM REST M. E. CHURCH.

Moore Plantation—Pastor's Day—1st and Third Sunday. Sunday School, 9 a. m. Prayer Meeting Wednesday night. Jessie Barefield, Supt. Sunday School.

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MOORE PLANTATION. Pastor's Day—Third Sunday; Class Tuesday nights; Choir Practice, Thurs-day nights; Sunday School, every Sun-

Meeting, First Sunday; Prayer Meeting, day at 9 a.m. Allen Christian Endeav-or League every Sunday evening at 5 p. m. Missionary Society, twice per month; Quarterly Conference, Feb. 11, 12 and 13; May 13 and 14; Aug. 17 and 13; Oct. 18. Rev. G. L. Sadler, Pastor; Burton Strode, Secretary of Church; Burton Strode, Supt. Sunday School.

RIISING SUN MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

McConnell Plantation. Pastor's Day, Fourth Sunday; Cove-nant, Third Sunday; Prayer Meeting, Wednesday night; Sunday School, Sun-day 9 a.m. D. W. Gibson, Supt. S. S. Rev. H. S. Smith, Pastor; Bebley Tay-lor, Clerk; Velma Thomas, Secretary.

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Regular monthly meeting first Sat-urday evening, every month, at 1 p.m. An organization to do worthy charita-ble work. Julia Robinson, President; Jennie Black, Vice-Pres.; Lauretta Cur-ry, Financial Sec.; Barbary Mason, Rec. Sec.; Julia Jones, Treasurer.

HOME BUILDING SOCIETY, NO. 1. Whitehall Plantation.

An organization for the purpose of taking care of the sick members and burying dead members. Dues are small and benefits liberal. Weekly benefits while sick and decent burial to deceased members. Let us feel eac others care. Monthly meetings first and fourth Mon-day nights in each month, at Davis Chapel, A. M. E. church, Whitehall Plan-tation. Lewis Bright, President; Joe Edwards, Vice-Pres.; Rev. Martlu Wil-liams, Financial Sec.; Carolyn Clark, Treasurer.

HOME MISSION SOCIETY Isole Plantation

This is an organization to care for its sick members and bury the dead. Dues are small. We give a liberal weekly benefit to the sick and a decent burial to deceased members. Regular month-ly meetings, the first and third Tuesday nights in each month. Join now. Rich-ard Dickson, Pres.; James Henry, Vice-Pres.; D. O. Lewis, Rec. Sec.; James Ross, Sec. of Finance; James Alexan-der, Marshall; Rufus Butler, Preacher.

COTTON FARMER

Scott Bolivar County
Published by the Tenants of the Delta and Pine Land Co., of Mississippi, at Scott, Miss.

Subscription: \$1.50 a Year

6 (In Advance.)

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Curtis Willis.

IMPLEMENT, REPAIRS, WHEEL-WRIGHT, BLACKSMITH SHOP.

Nick Williams.

VICKSBURG MISS HERALD

JULY 24, 1921

COLORED FARMERS DISCUSS TRUCKING

A large and enthusiastic meeting of colored farmers was held at Cedar Grove, near Grange Hall, yes-terday, at the call of J. D. Polk, lo-cal agent, and W. R. Lominick, county agent. P. F. Newell, of the animal husbandry division of the A. & M. College, and two colored lead-ers from the state extension force, gave some very timely and sound suggestions which were well receiv-ed by those present. The strictly lo-cal problems were discussed by the county agent. Among the things which seemed of greatest interest was the trucking proposition. Truck-ing is also being considered by a number of white farmers in the vi-cinity of Cedars, and it is probable that a meeting will be called soon in order to formulate definite plans, provided sufficient acreage is se-cured.

This is Full of Hope For a Struggling

Cotton People of Mississippi
The Cotton Farmer is in receipt of the Official Bulletin of the Cham-ber of Commerce of our neighboring county of Washington. The publica-tion has been christened Greater

Washington County, and it sets forth of this committee to co-operate with the advantages offered the business our negroes in the promotion of their man in the Queen City of the Delta. efforts toward the general better-ment, and the moral and material progress, of their people.

There is no sane reason why Green-ville should not be dotted with tex-tile mills to spin and weave the cot-ton crop of its territory. There we have the great Mississippi, the father of waters, to carry the finished prod-ucts to Mexican and South Ameri-can ports. The factory hands would be consumers of our truck patches and of our fowls.

The address issued by the Indus-trial Welfare Committee on the Ne-gro Problem, it seems to this paper, strikes the key note. When emi-nent business white men, Southern to the manner born, will subscribe the following, we should be encouraged:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Greenville and Washington County, serve the race relations among Mississippi, hold it to be self-evident the present and coming generation that the racial contentment, prosper-ity and progress of the laboring er classes of any country or community are essential factors in the perma-nent prosperity and progress of such country or community as a whole.

This is just as true where the bulk of such laboring population are ne-groes as it is where they are white. In such case there is the additional essential of good relations between the two races, and of a policy on the part of the white man which will inspire in the negro not only respect, but confidence, loyalty and esteem as well.

"It follows that in our territory every proper policy and means should be adopted by the white race which look to the sane encouragement of the negro among us, regardless of class or conditions, whether laborers or not, in their legitimate aspirations, to the end that they may be made to realize a community of interest with the white people, and may feel a well grounded confidence in our interest in their welfare.

It is the purpose of the Industrial Welfare Committee of the Washing-ton County Chamber of Commerce of Greenville, Mississippi, to further these objects. This committee will serve as a permanent medium thru which a proper and useful connec-tion may be established between the business and industrial life of the white community and the wants and needs and general activities of our colored population.

"We declare it to be the purpose

This committee as a whole, or any individual member of it, will give a patient and considerate hearing to any suggestion, proposition or ques-tion along the lines above indicated, from any respectable negro of this community. This is an invitation to the confidence of the negroes of Greenville and Washington County, extended by this committee in behal-f of the white people of the commu-nity.

"With confidence between the races there will be mutual benefit which suspicion and distrust or dis-like would destroy. We wish to pre-sent the race relations among the present and coming generation which we see exemplified in the old citizens of the South.

(Signed)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

J. M. ROBERTSHAW,
Chairman.

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JOHNSON ERWIN,
L. C. HAYS,
J. ALLEN HUNT,
B. B. PAYNE,
ALFRED H. STONE.

We have cause to be deeply grate-ful to these good white people for the high ground they have taken in this supposed race problem. When the time arrives our people will see the wrongs of our race and cease to uphold the unworthy, and when the white people will reach the point that they, too, will see the wrongs of the vicious of their race and not uphold them, then there will never be any danger of an outbreak in any community, but so long as neither can see the wrongs of the vicious of each respective group, no communi-y is safe from an eruption. When these unfortunate occurrences come no one suffers but the best people of the community, for the others have nothing to lose.

Agriculture - 1921.

Mississippi.

Improvement of.

FIRST BALE OF COTTON PRO-
DUCED IN MISSISSIPPI.

Birmingham Report
(By Associated Negro Press.)

Greenville, Miss., Aug. 25. - The first bale of cotton of the crop of 1921 was received here last Friday. The bale was produced at Grace, thirty-five miles south of Greenville, on the plantation of Lee H. Sparkman, colored, and was consigned to the Staple Cotton Co-operative Association, Hubert Crosby, Manager of the association here, classed the cotton as strict middling with staple of 1 3-16. The cotton has splendid color.

Improvement of.

CHARLOTTE N. C. NEWS.

AUGUST 29, 1921

WHITE AND COLORED FARMERS

The University News-Letter reminds us of the old proverb that he who tills the soil will some day own it and couples up with this adage with the statistics showing in North Carolina the increasing ratio of Negro farmers. In Virginia, it is pointed out, 75 per cent of all the Negroes who are on the farms own land and in North Carolina 35 per cent of them. And their number is rapidly being multiplied. The statistics present a serious study in Tar Heel economics.

The Negroes of the South today own nearly as much land, farm land, as is contained in the whole state of North Carolina—this after only half a century. The Negro farm ownership ratio is increasing in the whole south while at the same time white farm owners are a decreasing ratio. The ratio of land ownership in the South is in favor of the colored race. And why? Because Negro farmers are an increasing ratio of all farmers. During the last ten years the white population increased twice as fast as the Negro population but Negro farmers increased 16.2 per cent while white farmers increased only 2.8 per cent. Ten years ago 25.9 per cent of all our farmers in this state were Negroes. Today they are 28.3 per cent of all farmers. And remember, the white population gained twice as fast as the colored, but the white increase moved into towns and cities while the Negroes remained on the farm. And he who cultivates the soil will some day own it.

To give some idea of the rapidity with which Negroes are supplanting whites as farmers, we are offering some facts. Ten years ago the Negroes in Lenoir were 44.9 per cent of all people. Today they are 44.2 per cent. But during this ten-year period Negro farmers increased 71.6 per cent while white farmers increased only 9.6 per cent. The Negro farmer gain was nine times the white gain.

Or again take Wilson, the great tobacco county. The Negro population ratio is almost exactly the same today as it was ten years ago. But during the ten-year period Negro farmers increased 57.9 per cent, while white farmers gained only 16.4 per cent. In Pitt, another great tobacco county, the farms operated by white farmers increased 6.4 per cent, while Negro farmers are 54.6 per cent more than ten years ago. In Greene county, the Negro farmers in-

creased five times as rapidly as white farmers. In Gates county the Negro farm operators increased seven times as rapidly as white. The white farmers of Scotland decreased 9.2 per cent while Negro farmers increased 47.5 per cent. There are today more than twice as many colored farmers in Scotland as white farmers. Edgecombe is a great farm county but the Negro farmers gained more than four times as rapidly as white farmers. In Washington county the white farmers gained 2.4 per cent while the Negro gain was 46.1 per cent, or around twenty times as great. Wayne is another great farm county and here the Negro gain in farm operators was 42.5 per cent against 15.3 per cent for whites.

Negroes are a decreasing ratio of population in this state.

Ten years ago they composed 31.6 per cent of our people. Today only 29.8 per cent are negroes. But during this ten-year period in 48 counties, mainly in the great cotton and tobacco belt, Negro farm operators gained faster than whites. In nearly all the counties where Negroes dwell they remained on the farm to a larger extent than the white people. About four-fifths of all Negroes in the state live in these 48 counties. They are rapidly gaining as a ratio of all farmers. Already in eleven counties there are more Negro than white farmers. In Scotland county there are twice as many, and in Halifax county there are 3,303 Negro farmers against 1,368 white farmers. He who cultivates the soil will some day own it. In our great Coastal Plains, the important agricultural area of North Carolina, Negro farmers are an increasing ratio, and a rapidly increasing ratio. Although in 52 counties, mainly in the western half of the state the ratio of change was in favor of white farmers, the Negro gain in ratio in the other 48 counties was large enough to cause the ratio for the state at large to be decidedly in favor of the colored race. Negro farmers increased 16.2 per cent against a gain of only 2.8 per cent for white farmers.

ASHVILLE N. C. CITIZEN

SEPTEMBER 1, 1921

The Negro As A Farm-Owner

For years Southern white people have said that one of the surest ways of elevating the colored population is by encouragement of home-owning among Negroes. And now in certain counties of the South colored farm-owners outnumber white farmers in large percentages. The white people have been moving to towns and cities, selling their

North Carolina.

land to the colored tenant farmers.

According to The University News Letter: "A half century ago practically all Negroes were slaves. Today more than 75 per cent. of all Negro farmers in Virginia own the land they cultivate and in this State Negro farm-owners are around 35 per cent. of all Negro farmers." And this change in farm population has come about in the face of a decreasing colored population as compared to the Caucasian; the point is that Negro farmers are an increasing ratio of all farmers.

In a table showing the increase and decrease of colored farm-operators for the last decade, The News Letter cites these illustrations: In Wilson County the Negro population has practically stood still, but in that tobacco-growing county the colored farmers increased in this period 57.9 per cent., as compared with the gain in white farmers of 16.4. In Scotland County the colored farmers outnumber the white more than two to one. In Edgecombe the colored farmers gained more than four times as rapidly as the white, in Gates the increase for Negro farmers was seven times as large as for the whites.

Everyone must rejoice, as a general proposition, in the remarkable progress made by the colored people in the last 50 years. Negroes interested in cotton and tobacco are not promising subjects for the Negro agitator who preaches political and social advancement as the salvation of the race. Colored people owning their own land are bound to become more and more dependable citizens, useful citizens. But it is equally clear that it would be a bad thing for agriculture and for the best interest of both races if the colored people finally own practically all the land in the tobacco and cotton belts. The difficulty of organizing white farmers for co-operative marketing, credit associations and for other collective effort, has been perplexing enough; it will be all the harder among colored farmers. And what of the social, church and school conditions in these areas where the whites are falling into the minority?

The News Letter outlines these facts as to white and colored farm-owners without suggesting any program for a more balanced and wholesome development of Southern agriculture. It is a problem that demands the best thought of leaders of both races.

Improvement of, COTTON MEN GATHER FOR BIG CONFERENCE

Co-operative Marketing to Be
Theme of Meeting,

16 STATES REPRESENTED

Growers From All Parts of South
Will Hear Sapiro's Pool System
This Morning—Plan Will Not
Affect Acreage.

Memphis Tenn
Commercial Appeal
4/26/21

Cotton men from all over the south were arriving in the city last night for the big marketing conference that will open in Hotel Gayoso this morning at 10 o'clock. Practically every one of the 16 cotton producing states will be represented and it is expected that the meeting will decide upon some feasible plan of co-operative marketing of the south's staple.

The conference was called by President J. R. Howard of the National Farm Bureau Federation, after Aaron Sapiro, California attorney, appeared before a meeting of that organization and presented his plan for pooling the cotton production, or at least a great portion of it, and selling it on a growers' co-operative basis. Mr. Sapiro's plan originated at a meeting of cotton men in Montgomery about a year ago, and has been adopted in several of the cotton states. It is purposed to extend the scheme to as many other states as necessary to make the co-operative agency the largest single factor dealing in the cotton market, with the ultimate view of organizing the entire cotton belt.

Discussing his scheme for co-operative or collective marketing last night, Mr. Sapiro explained that it is intended to get the growers of each state to sign uniform contracts to sell their cotton through the central selling agency for a period of seven years. The grower signing the contract agrees to sell his entire product through the agency, thus assuring the organization a definite supply of cotton of uniform grades and prices. This fact, it is pointed out, will be a big factor in competing with other dealers in the markets, and furnish the spinners a source from which may be obtained uniform grades on short notice, even in large quantities.

Sapiro Explains Project.

Graders and weighers would be provided in order to assure proper classification and accurate weights. Mr.

Sapiro declares that it will bring the producer and consumer closer together in the markets and will eliminate speculation and gambling that have so frequently hurt the cotton farmers. In effect, the farmer will be selling his product direct to the mill and will be in position to feed the market as the demand for given grades may necessitate.

"Cotton planters of the south have determined to attend to their own cotton selling business hereafter," said Mr. Sapiro last night. "Not only have they determined to do this thing, but they have gone the major portion of the distance toward the accomplishment of their object."

"The plan has been perfected and the work of organization is well under way, under the same uniform plan and the same uniform contract, in most of the cotton producing states of the south."

"More than 400,000 bales have been signed up in Oklahoma, when they started out to get 300,000. The Mississippi delta is practically over, with almost 200,000 bales. Texas is going strong, Arizona is half done, Arkansas has her campaign under way, Georgia, North and South Carolina are getting a good start."

"In addition to this the plan for a national overhead sales agency has been perfected and was adopted a week ago at Oklahoma City by the delegates from organization committees of eight southern states, representing over 80 per cent of the cotton production of the south."

Carl Williams of Oklahoma City, one of the prime movers in the co-operative system of marketing, exhibited the following telegram from President Howard, making clear the position of the Farm Bureau Federation:

"The Farm Bureau has no intention of injecting new ideas into the southern commodity selling plan for cotton. The purpose of the Memphis meeting is to ratify this plan if possible, so that all forces may work in harmony to accomplish the organization of the cotton growers."

"Our Oklahoma organization is now perfected with 35,000 members and more than a quarter of a million dollars in net assets," said Mr. Williams.

"We are proceeding rapidly to organize a complete selling force, including its complement of graders, classifiers and warehousemen, and expect to handle not less than 500,000 bales of Oklahoma cotton this year. This is 50 per cent of the normal crop in that state."

"All of our 35,000 farmer members have signed an ironclad seven-year contract, under which they have agreed to sell all of their cotton through their association for that period."

"Oklahoma will be the nucleus for the national overhead selling agency, plans for which have recently been perfected, and through which it is expected to sell all of the cotton for all of the members of all of the states. These various states, according to their present minimum plans, will be able to furnish the American Cotton Growers' Exchange with not less than 3,000,000 bales of cotton to sell by next year, while the states in which organizations are being perfected produce 84 per cent of all the cotton produced in the United States."

Mississippi Organizes.

Oscar Bledsoe, Jr., of Greenwood, Miss., stated that organization of the Staple Cotton Growers' Association of the Mississippi Delta is nearing completion.

"We are thoroughly solid on the commodity idea in cotton marketing

as worked out by Mr. Sapiro," said Mr. Bledsoe last night. "Our organization, based on the same plan as the other cotton organizations, is about ready to complete its campaign and be ready to function, along with the rest of the cotton districts being organized."

Arizona Also.

"Arizona has been working toward commodity organization for cotton selling, on the firm contract plan, for two years," said Charles M. Morgan, secretary of the organization committee of the Arizona pima cotton growers. Our actual organization campaign was only under way for about two weeks before I left to attend the meeting at Oklahoma City as a delegate in the formation of the national overhead sales agency and this meeting in Memphis, but in that time practically all the important growers had signed up and we had secured half the acreage quota. There will be no question that Arizona will be ready to function as a unit this fall."

The Overhead Agency.

On being asked about the overhead sales agency, Mr. Sapiro explained it briefly as follows:

"The American Cotton Growers' Exchange is to be an overhead sales agency that will bear practically the same relation to the various state associations as they bear to the individual members of the various associations."

"It will be composed of the state associations and will be incorporated and made ready to function as soon as two more associations have been completed and are ready to join with Oklahoma in starting the national agency in the discharge of its functions, other associations to be added as they are completed."

"The national organization will have general charge of the sales of the cotton turned over to the member associations by the growers who have signed the uniform marketing contract used by all the states."

"It will also take supervision of many other angles of the work, including expressly grading and warehousing."

"Each state will maintain its own grading and inspection service, as well as its own financing and warehousing departments. In addition, each state association will have the right to sell its cotton directly if it does not choose to use the facilities of the central exchange."

Diversified Farm-
Dallas Texas Ex. prep.
ing Pays Well.

The business men and ministers are arranging to have Prof. Rice to address the citizens of Houston in the near future.

Lubbock, Texas, Nov. 24.—Diversified farming in the South Plains pays, according to J. O. Williams, near Lubbock. From two and one half acres Mr. Williams has sold \$290 worth of water melons. From 25 acres has ginned and sold 10 bales of cotton from the first picking, and from 45 acres of row crop, has harvested enough feed to last him two years in addition to several loads sold on the Lubbock market. He has grown his own vegetables, has a few milk cows, several hogs, chickens, a peanut patch orchard and is the little concerned over high freight rates, strikes and kindred matters.

Ten years ago his land worth approximately \$15 per acre. Today it is worth approximately \$100 per acre. Within a day's shooting distance of Lubbock, there are more than seven million acres of the same kind of land waiting for settlement in order to produce, other progressive farmers the same kind of comfortable living.



Above is the likeness of Prof. C. W. Rice, Austin, Texas. He is a young man, yet in his twenties and is well informed as to racial conditions of the South, and is classed as one of the correct thinkers of the race. He has the ear of the leaders of both races as no other young Negro in the state. Prof. Rice's ability as a leader has been recognized by both state and national government.

During the time of the world war he was one of six Negroes that were appointed by the United States labor department as junior examiner for Texas, and the youngest regardless to color.

Prof. Rice also holds the distinction of being one of the two Negroes to be employed by the Texas department of agriculture to organize the colored farmers into institutes.

During his connection with this department he organized more than five hundred institutes and these sent delegates to joint meetings with the white institutes, which meet once a year and discuss the agricultural problems.

On the first of June when the fund for this work was exhausted, the di-

rector of his work had this to say:
"To whom it may concern:

"This is to certify that Prof. C. W. Rice (col.) has been connected with the division of Farmers' Institutes since December, 1917, working among the colored people, and his service has been entirely satisfactory.

"I found him to be honest, trustworthy and conscientious in his effort among his people, and do not hesitate to recommend him as being worthy of any favors shown him."

(Signed) J. W. NEILL,
Director of Institutes, State Department of Agriculture.

Since the state's funds have been exhausted, Prof. Rice has refused good paying positions to continue to tour the state, going out into the rural districts where the masses of the race live, asking the landlords and overseers, trustees of schools and road commissioners to make conditions better. He declares that rough treatment, bad roads through the colored districts and short terms of school with untrained teachers, together with the failure in crops both in production and price, are driving the colored people from the farms into the crowded cities, this he says is not only detrimental to the progress of the race, but is undermining the future prosperity of the nation.

He is teaching the race thrift, economy and the dignity of work, race pride and race unity.

This is what the San Antonio Inquirer has to say of his lectures:

"Prof. C. W. Rice, who is touring the state, speaking in the interest of the colored people, addressed an enthusiastic audience Sunday afternoon at the Community House. His address was practical, which can be applied to every day life, and in the beginning of his discourse he emphasized the importance of the colored people placing a greater value on time. The subject of his address was "The Negro and the Modern Crisis," which he treated from every angle, and clearly outlined and demonstrated the unlimited possibilities of the Negro in America if the race would only unite and work for one common cause.

"Prof. Rice told how the traitors were destroying the future opportunities of the race and warned his audience to beware of false leadership. His ad-

Agriculture - 1921

Virginia.

Improvement of.

Whites Ask Farmers to Help Them

The Chicago Defender
10/24/21
Keyville, Va., Oct. 21. The Tri-State Tobacco Growers' Association, published from this town, has come out with an open bid for the enlistment of all farmers in the state in the fight for co-operative marketing of their product. This appeal is made regardless as to race. Already it is claimed that 50 per cent of the farmers have signed contracts for the sale of their tobacco which will protect the small grower from the blight of low prices.

The appeal says: "Never before have we addressed a special plea to all our colored members (meaning of the Tobacco Growers' Association) as Dr. Moton has so wisely said, 'Nature knows no color line and cares not whether the hand that plants the cotton and the corn be black or white,' and because in this association also of thousands of tobacco farmers in Virginia, organized in deadly earnest to effect the betterment of all—the contract knows no color line."

Further, "The small tobacco grower, whether he be black or white, will be protected under the co-operative plan. He will not see his influential neighbors sell tobacco of a grade and type exactly like his own for almost twice the price that he can get on speculative markets as they are today.

"Instead of rushing his tobacco to a glutted market, where the price is driven lower than the cost of actual production by speculative buyers and panic stricken farmers, the co-operative grower will be able to place his product with his own association, where it will be marketed by experts, when and where it brings the largest price.

"Small progress will be made in gaining better homes, schools and churches for the Colored farmer in tobacco growing counties of our state so long as 60 out of every 100 growers, whether white or black, are burdened with crop mortgages, and carry debts from year to year."

JOIN TENANTS' UNION OR LEAVE THE FARM

This Demand Being Made of

Farmers in Bridgeport, Ala.,

Section; Riders Masked

2-5-21.
(Special to The Advertiser)

BRIDGEPORT, ALA., Feb. 4.—“Either join the ‘tenants union’ or leave your farms within ten days,” was the demand made in person last night upon two dozen non-union farm renters in this vicinity by a masked band of twenty or more night riders who said they represented the “Union.”

According to reports to chief of police Glover made by the farmers who were visited, the night riders were mounted “on fiery steeds” which were covered with white cloth. The procession as it moved through the farm districts was described as “Weird and spectacular.” All members of the band wore masks.

The night riders also called upon land owners, it was stated in reports to chief Glover and demanded that only “union farmers” be employed or given shelter.

Night Riding in Jackson County Is Being Probed

Tenant's Union Issues Denial
of Any Connection With
Raid Warning Land Owners
Not to Rent to Certain
Persons

Montgomery Advertiser
(Associated Press) 2/13/21

BRIDGEPORT, ALA., Feb. 12.—While officials are quietly investigating the aid of alleged “night riders” into Bridgeport and the surrounding section a week ago, when land owners were warned not to rent to tenants outside the pale of the tenant's union, officers of the union today issued a formal statement denying any connection with the raid and accusing a “disreputable” gang of outsiders of committing the outrage.

President S. M. Rogers, of the tenant's union, declared in a statement that the organization would lend any aid possible to clear up the mystery surrounding the identity of the night riders, declaring that it was the purpose of the riders to injure the union.

He declared that the union has a membership of 9,000, and that it was organized for the purpose of bringing about a reduction in rents for farm lands and a fair division of crops. It is charged that there are land owners in this county who will not rent land to members of the union, allowing their farms to go uncultivated.

It is the purpose of the union, according to the officials to keep this land idle until the landlords agree to give the tenants a “square deal” and allow them to raise their families under more favorable circumstances.

STATE PRISON CHIEF

REMITTS LARGE SUM TO

5-24-21
TREASURER ON MONDAY

Montgomery Advertiser.
One of the largest contributions to the state's finances in recent months was recorded Monday, when the State Warden General's office, turned over to the State Treasurer, the sum of \$100,104.48, representing amount paid by three Alabama corporations for the hire of convict labor.

Agriculture - 1921.
Labor Conditions.

WILLIAMS DEFENSE RESTS ON HIS OWN PLEA OF INNOCENCE

Planter Makes Unsworn Statement on Stand Denying Part in Negroes' Death.

N Y C WORLD
APRIL 8, 1921
COULD HAVE GOT AWAY IF
GUILTY, HE TELLS JURORS.

Declares He Gave "Boys"
Money to Go Home After In-
quiry—Case to Jury To-Day.

By Rowland Thomas.

(Staff Correspondent of The World.)

COVINGTON, Ga., April 7.—Staking the fate of John S. Williams on a single move, the planter's counsel at 11 o'clock this morning opposed to the sworn testimony of Clyde Manning, his negro farm hand, as supported by six other witnesses for the State, only their client's unsworn assertion of his innocence.

Immediately after the noon recess arguments of counsel began. They will continue through to-morrow and by afternoon the jury will have before it this question: Shall we believe the negro or the white man?

After introducing two witnesses this morning, one of them Rena Manning, wife of Clyde, in further corroboration of the story Manning told yesterday, implicating his employer, Williams, in the murder not only of Lindsey Peterson, of whose death Williams is accused, but of ten other negro employees, the State unexpectedly rested its case. There was a brief recess while the defending counsel conferred, after which Attorney Greene F. Johnson announced "the defendant will make a statement."

Sprig of Jasmine in Coat.

Rising from his chair inside the bar beside his black-clad wife, Williams, who appeared in court this morning

wearing on the lapel or his asparagus, weighted down in the yellow and coat a sprig of cape jasmine evidently brought from his home in Jasper County, where The World's correspondent saw it blooming last week, walked to the stand with a vigorous stride, and, after being instructed as to his rights by Judge Hutcheson immediately spoke to the jury in a conversational tone such as he might have addressed to a group of other farmers around a stove in a country general store.

His language was homely and his manner at no time forceful or particularly earnest. He did not appear to be pleading for his life, nor could one realize from his manner that his fate might hang on his adequate or inadequate powers of verbal expression.

"I have lived in Jasper County all my life, and this is the first criminal charge ever brought against me," Williams began. "I have tried to teach my boys to be law-abiding citizens, and when the call came for volunteers in the war four of them were among the first who answered."

He then stated that, like other farmers, he had often "bonded out" negroes from jails under mutual agreement that they would work out the fines he had paid for them.

Two months ago, he said, two Federal agents coming to his plantation told him that they were investigating complaints of peonage on his place, and in answer to questions told him he was guilty of it if he "bonded out" negroes. In his company, he said, the agents made a tour of his own and his son's farms, talking with the hands and observing all conditions as they pleased. When they left, he said, they told him that though he might have technically violated the peonage statute, they found his negroes well fed and clothed and contented, and assured him he had nothing to fear from the Federal authorities.

Speech Rehearsed, Impression.

Williams stumbled on the word "technically." Soon after, by stopping and repeating the last two words of a sentence and then going on with his statement, he gave the impression that his speech was not unrehearsed.

Stating that he stood in no dread as a result of the Federal agents' visit, he explained that, thinking the situation over, he determined to let any negroes leave him if they wished. He then gave his own explanation of the way in which the negroes Lindsey Peterson, Willie Preston and Harry Price, later found bound and

weighed down in the yellow and South Rivers, came to leave his plantation Saturday afternoon." He passed a field on Huland's place where boys were working, and stopped to say if any nigger wanted to go home he could, even if he owed me money.

"Artis Freeman wanted to go right then, and I gave him \$2 and took him over with me to Jackson to the train. I promised to take Lindsey and Willie and Harry to the train in the morning, and told them to drive the hogs from Huland's down to my place. That night I gave them and Clyde Manning and Charlie Chisholm their supper at my place and handed each \$5 to carry him home.

"Clyde and Charlie said they were going to a party that night, and asked for half a dollar apiece and got it. Next morning, Sunday, only Clyde showed up around the place. I asked him where the three boys were and he said they'd went away last night. Could Have Got Away.

"Two weeks later I heard three niggers had been found in Yellow River, and Eberhard Crawford, an old nigger, was saying he knew them and they came from my place. I drove over and Eberhard denied saying it. Then I came up to Covington and gave the Grand Jury all the information I had and Friday of court week they arrested me and took me to Atlanta.

"If I had done the crime I'd had plenty of time to get far away. But I knew nothing and I've told all I know about Lindsey Peterson and Willie and 'Foots' Price. About the boys who were found in the Alcovy or were dug up on the plantations, and the circumstances under which I saw them last—they aren't any part of this case. I'll explain them to other juries if I'm ever called to trial about them."

The State's chief witness this morning was Sheriff B. L. Johnson of Newton County, under whose direction between the middle and end of March the bound and weighted bodies of six negroes from the Williams plantation were recovered from the Yellow, South and Alcovy Rivers and the corpses of five others were disinterred from improvised graves in various parts of the Williams properties in Jasper County.

With his testimony the prosecution linked up the identity of the three negroes, Peterson, Preston and Price, whom Manning yesterday testified were drowned by himself and Charlie

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

Chisholm in Williams' presence and at his order on Saturday night, Feb. 26, and established the fact that the bodies were found and the deaths presumably occurred within Newton County jurisdiction.

Then, overrunning objections of the defense, the State put in evidence the fact that not only these three bodies but the remaining ten were searched for after Manning had told the authorities of the eleven murders, were found by the searching parties exactly where Manning had asserted they would be and were identified by the negro as the persons he had named.

Summing Up Begins

Sheriff Johnson was the last State's witness, and at 10.55 o'clock the prosecution rested, whereupon the defense asked and received a fifteen minutes' recess.

After recess Attorney C. C. King of Covington opened for the defense and was followed by Assistant Attorney General Graham Wright of Atlanta, for the prosecution. Attorney W. H. Key of Monticello spoke next in Williams' behalf and was answered by Solicitor General A. M. Brand, the Prosecuting Attorney for this circuit.

Court adjourned at 4.30, and to-morrow former Congressman William M. Howard of Augusta, special counsel for the State, and Greene F. Johnson, senior counsel for Williams, will present the final statements.

Under Georgia practice Judge Hutcheson's charge will not be long and Williams' fate should be in the hands of the jury before nightfall. Opinion is divided as to how quickly they will reach a verdict.

For about ten minutes, soon after midnight this morning, Covington was thrown into great excitement. The fire bell rang wildly—it had been agreed that this bell should give the alarm if any "trouble" rose at the County Jail, where Williams and Manning are confined, and scores of hastily dressed and armed citizens were soon stumbling through the dark in that direction.

It then turned out that the bell had given a commonplace fire alarm for a small blaze in a garage just of the Court House Square.

GEORGIA PEONAGE IS LAWFUL UNDER ITS CONSTITUTION

N Y C WORLD
APRIL 17, 1921

Each of the State's 156 Counties is a Sovereignty, Practically Beyond Control of the Governor or Legislature.

BUT IT IS IN VIOLATION
OF FEDERAL STATUTES.

The Convict Lease System Was
Discarded Because of Its
Evils, and the Best People
Say Its Successor Must Go.

By Rowland Thomas.

Last winter on a cotton plantation in Jasper County, Ga., in twelve days eleven negroes were killed under circumstances of such unprecedented ruthlessness and cruelty that the revelation of them shocked the whole country.

I have just come back from the trial of a white man, fifty-four years old, devoted husband, affectionate father of twelve children, whom a Georgia jury found guilty of one of those murders and, by implication, guilty also of the ten others. And ever since I came back people here have been asking me if it was really true that the atrocious things they had read of had really happened and if that white man had really done them.

When I answered that the printed stories were true in all their hideous details and that in the mind of no man thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances was there shadow of doubt concerning John Williams' guilt, my questioners still found it difficult not to palliate the truth.

"Then, of course," they said, "the man was crazy. No sane man could have done that."

But John Williams was a sane man. More than that—he was using what seemed to him good judgment when he ordered and supervised that wholesale and cold-blooded slaughter. The laws of Georgia had put those eleven negroes in his power. But the laws of the United States had made them dangerous to him. They were evidence that he and three of his sons had committed the crime called "peonage." So he destroyed the evidence. It was only incidental that

the evidence later destroyed him. The root of the trouble lay in the fact of peonage, and in the local conditions which made peonage possible.

Peonage was defined in court by a learned lawyer during Williams's trial as the crime of "forcing a man to work out his debt by his labor."

"Not a Southern Custom."

Those involuntary servitors on John Williams's plantation were not the only peons in Georgia. Peonage exists on other Georgian farms, and in other States of the South. Georgia and the South do not deny it, or resent having the fact brought up for discussion. They only ask to be believed when they point out that peonage is not a Southern custom but is sporadic in certain localities and is comparatively rare.

One of the most serious charges against John Williams was the charge of theft. One of the peonage, in Georgia or elsewhere, is one case too many, particularly if it results in what happened in Jasper County. How explain that? If John Williams is what he seems to those who have studied him closely, in all respects but one a normal farmer, is not Georgia responsible? Georgia is responsible just as much and in the same way as New York is responsible for the gunmen and drug purveyors who scatter murder and misery among her population. John Williams and "Dopey Benny" are both natural products of an environment which could not exist if perfect laws were perfectly administered under the watchful eye of an always alert and watchful public.

At Mercy of the "Buyer."

John Williams got those negroes into his debt quite legally under the laws of Georgia and when he forced them to work their debt out he was still within the laws of Georgia, though outside the laws of the United States. In Georgia any farmer can go to a city stockade or county prison where negroes are imprisoned for misdemeanors and, if a negro assents, can "buy his out" by paying his fine and take the negro to his farm with the understanding that the negro will remain there till the amount of his fine and debt to the farmer is worked out.

What happens to the negro on the farm depends on the farmer and on the local conditions, but at best the relation is a dangerous one. The contract, under the Federal statutes, is an illegal one. The "stockade negro" is a highly reliable man who decides to decamp without working his debt out there are no means of holding him except by force or intimidation.

Under good conditions the arrangement does no harm to either white man or negro. The white man gets labor he needs. The black, having worked his debt out, goes where he pleases. From this the situation grades down by degrees to the situation believed to have existed on the Williams farm, where negroes are said to have been held for long periods after every legitimate debt had been paid, to have been lashed into obedience, and to have been pursued with dogs and brought back if they attempted to escape.

Relic of Leasing System.

This bad system of letting farmers buy out prisoners seems to be a relic of the system of leased convict labor which was abolished about twelve years ago. Till then, counties had been permitted to lease their convicts in chain-gangs for road or farm work. The lessor paid the State or county \$11 a year for each convict, with free renewals if during that period any of them got sick (died), was killed, or was so injured as to incapacitate him. The results are described by those who remember them as worse than slavery. Since a slave was property, it paid to keep him in good condition, whereas under the convict lease system the temptation was for a hard-hearted white man to get as many fresh negroes as possible during the year for his \$11.

This system of obtaining labor, I was told, was quite commonly adopted by some of the Jasper County farmers and may account for Williams's exceptional callousness toward members of the colored race, whom he seemed to regard with less consideration than dumb brutes. When I visited his farm half a dozen dogs came out to meet me with a confident air which showed they had never been subjected to abuse.

The convict lease system is carded because of its obviousness and I found the best element of the people in Georgia, both farmers and city dwellers, saying that the buying out system must go too, and pointing out the Williams's case as a horrible example of its dangerous possibilities. **County is Supreme.**

Until it is abolished, what happens to a negro taken from prison to an isolated farm will depend somewhat on local conditions, for which Georgia as a whole cannot justly be held accountable, and from which the State cannot be relieved by anything less than a constitutional convention.

In Georgia, Governor and Legislature have so little real power that it is almost negligible. The administration of the law is almost wholly in the hands of local elected officials, particularly the county sheriffs, and the judges and prosecutors who enforce the law and punish offenders in circuits composed of small groups of counties. On the character and sentiment of these men the conditions in any given locality very largely depend. Georgia generally deplores the fact that the judges are elected instead of being appointed, and that the State is unable to supervise or control the activities of local officials. But, as said, only a constitutional convention can change this.

County Self-Government.

The condition traces back to 1877, when the present State Constitution

was written and adopted with the chief purpose of restoring local self-government, with assured white supremacy as a safeguard against any return of reconstruction and carpet-bagging days. Under it Georgia was made, and still remains, a mere loose aggregation of petty but complete county sovereignties, at present 156 in number.

As a step toward some regulation of this exaggerated local independence, a system of State Police, appointed and kept apart from political influence and exercising a State-wide authority, has been long advocated by many leading men who wish for better conditions. But so far no Legislature has seen fit to create it.

Probably contributing to the danger which indisputably exists for negro residents of certain localities is the fee system of paying local judicial and law-enforcement officials. As long as these men depend for their income not on a fixed salary, but on fees, the temptation to run as large a black grist as possible through the mills of justice will exist.

From all this it must not be inferred that a Northerner visiting Georgia will discern there any general or even large tendency to give the black element in the population something less than a square deal. On the contrary, most of the white people realize that prosperity for the State and all its citizens, black or white, depends fundamentally on "treating the negroes right."

Somewhat More Prevalent.

Opinion seems to be that peonage, though not widespread, is somewhat more prevalent than it was, say, two years ago. The situation in the cotton market is generally spoken of as a probable cause of the increase. Cotton is the State's staple crop, and with last year's production still unmarketed unscrupulous or hard-pressed farmers are on the one hand assailed by the temptation to get day labor from the stockades without paying out much money for it, and are furthermore beset with difficulties in relation to their negro tenant farmers who are deeply in debt to them. To help these tenants raise last year's crop the farmers advanced them cotton seed and fertilizer, for which they themselves went in debt, and also advanced the negro tenants on credit food and clothing to carry them through the crop period. Some of these tenants are now seeking to escape the obligation by leaving their landlords, who can only restrain them forcibly.

On the other hand, some of these tenants are dissatisfied because the farmers refused to sell the jointly owned crop after the market broke last fall but while cotton was still worth thirty cents instead of the present ten.

All these are some of the elements which enter into the unsettled condition of the State, and probably into the existence of peonage in some parts of it.

One thing should be remembered—whenever conditions are bad, they are bad not because people in general want them so, but because they have been revealed; but the remedy has not yet been found and applied. But Georgia means to find it in every case. Of that I came away certain.

FEAR 19 NEGROES RATED AS MISSING HAVE BEEN KILLED

N Y C WORLD

MARCH 29, 1921

Seek men Who Disappeared

Before Bodies of Eleven Williams Peons Were Discovered

WHITE MEN SPREAD TALES
OF BIG NEGRO UPRISING

Regarded as Effort to Incite
South Against Blacks—Inquiry to Be Started To-Day.

(Special to The World.)

MONTICELLO, Ga., March 28.—State and Federal officers working on the Jasper County peonage investigation that has resulted in the finding of the bodies of eleven negroes and the arrest of John Williams, a prominent farmer, and Clyde Manning, a negro employee, are proceeding on the theory that a number of other negroes may have been similarly murdered.

It is being pointed out that while eleven bodies have been found, nineteen other negroes were working on the two Williams plantations when the first victim was killed by a blow from an axe in the hands of Manning, who says he was acting at the direction of Williams. There has been no accounting for these men. Whether they have been hidden to prevent them giving evidence as to peonage conditions on the Williams places, or ordered, as were the others, is not known.

Williams and Manning are expected to go on trial when the July session of the Newton Superior Court convenes. Solicitor General Brand stated to-day he is willing to place the two on trial at the present session, but Attorney Greene S. Johnson of Monticello, representing Williams, has asked a postponement.

Has Evidence to Convict.

Although some of the bodies were found in Jasper County, Solicitor General Brand said that Newton County would be the first to try Williams and

Manning, since the first bodies found were in that county. He said he was ready for trial, and believed he had sufficient evidence to convict.

Jasper County authorities are proceeding in their plans for a special session of the Grand Jury to indict Williams and Manning. Even if acquitted in Newton County both Williams and Manning could be placed on trial in Jasper County for the murders alleged to have been committed there.

It was announced to-day that the Grand jury of Newton County would start to-morrow an investigation of a plot to array the whites here against the negroes.

Investigation will be made of the receipt of a number of threatening notes by white people, warning them to beware of a negro uprising. It is reported one of the members of the alleged conspiracy has confessed.

While no official announcement has been made of the confession of the man, who is said to be white, it was charged that the notes informing citizens that the negroes would attempt to wipe out several sections of the country were sent to arouse resentment against the blacks.

Gov. Dorsey has under consideration the question of ordering a State investigation of the case. Solicitor Campbell of Jasper County has asked the Governor to send the Attorney General into the territory and also to convene a special Grand Jury, because of the fact that he (Campbell) has had business relations with Williams. Mr. Campbell has pledged cooperation, but believes the Attorney General should take charge of the prosecution.

Investigated Conditions.

Williams moved to Jasper County from Forsythe twenty-seven years ago. Since residing here the planter has acquired considerable property and is well known throughout this section of the State. About March 1, according to reliable information, two Department of Justice agents, A. J. Wisner and E. S. Chastain, came to Jasper County to investigate alleged peonage practices on the Williams farm. The owner gave a satisfactory explanation, but the authorities found suspicious conditions on a farm operated by Hulon Williams, one of his sons, it is said.

Immediately after the officials had Mr. De Ford relative to the subject of the letter before its receipt. In one difference of opinion between the two developed over the witnesses who should be summoned before the Grand Jury in the building materials cases. Mr. Untermeyer was solicitous that none should obtain immunity by being called without due consultation. This was after the limestone men had been permitted to plead guilty and fines had been imposed. Mr. Untermeyer

first three bodies were found in the Yellow and South Rivers several weeks ago, Manning has stated. It is also stated that no murders occurred after the three Williams returned home.

Agriculture - 1921.

The Jasper County Horror Accentuates Weaknesses and Viciousness of Georgia Laws That Commercialize Penal Labor

BY JAMES A. HOLLOMON

The affair in Jasper county, irrespective of the issue of murder, and the guilt or innocence of the accused farmer, who is alleged to have incited the slaying of negroes by the wholesale, brings into the light of public condemnation court systems, and weak and vacillating laws in Georgia that not only make peonage possible but open the floodgates for just such a horrible, revolting situation as has developed in that section.

Sometimes it takes a tragedy, perhaps a series of tragedies, to impress the public with a disgraceful condition that exists under its very nose, and that may have continued for years.

In the mad rush of commercialism the average citizen is unmindful of the dangers that are about him; and in this day of commercializing the laws of the state and the functions of government itself, the people sleep over the powder-mines of law-abuse and official-corruption that sooner or later a torch of publicity must necessarily explode.

Old Lease System Had to Go.

Years ago Georgia was disgraced by a convict lease system that finally had to go before the force of public opinion.

Not only did humanity demand the repeal of that law, but the best interests of the state, that was losing by the individual commercialization of penal help, demanded that the inmates of her corrective and penal institutions should be employed in the construction of county highways, and in a like public service to the interests of all the citizens; and not in appeasing the pecuniary gain of any one group of men or corporations.

To the main convict lease law of that day there were attached a number of collateral laws that encouraged peonage, and made it almost impossible for the federal courts to convict in Georgia on such an indictment.

Peonage was practiced to a greater or less extent all over Georgia by reason of the encouragement thus unwittingly given, in the state statutes, to flagrant violations of one of the most important statutes in the federal criminal code. Everybody knows that is true.

The Sam Clyatt case of a quarter of a century ago will illustrate that statement.

In that instance one of the most prominent men in Lowndes county, the father of the town of Clyattville, was indicted and tried for peonage, and the case became of national moment; and yet in its ramifications through the courts the

government's case finally weakened through the loopholes for the actual practice of peonage presented by the laws of Georgia under which the defendant lived and operated his business.

But the abominable lease system later had to crumble before an outraged public opinion, and with it crumbled also the various inter-linked laws that acted as the bristles to the porcupine.

Convict Leasing By a New Name.

The people of Georgia then believed that convict leasing in this state was a thing of the past. And, accepting such a belief at par, have since quietly slept over the fact that subsequent Georgia legislatures have actually recreated a system of "farming" convicts, upon a modified and more humane scale. It is true; but no less susceptible of individual commercialization—with distinct losses, too, to the state of Georgia, and particularly to the counties in which convictions were had.

Not only that, but court practices, unhampered by legal inhibitions, have been evolved that make possible, if indeed they do not actually encourage the violation of the federal laws against involuntary servitude.

Now, let's analyze conditions—

Farmer Williams, in Jasper county, admits, or his son admits for him, that he "balled misdemeanor convicts out of the chaingangs and worked them on his farm."

It is alleged that Williams got negroes from the chaingangs in Fulton and Bibb counties, and elsewhere.

It has not yet been made clear whether he paid the fines of these misdemeanor offenders and had them obligate to him the alternative labor sentences; or whether they were probated to him. It is very probable the former. However, he could have secured them, under the Georgia laws, and the lack of a protecting law, either way.

In this one respect, not to take into account the subsequent allegations of murder placed against Williams—and the gruesome finding of eleven dead bodies, the death of each one having been caused by violence, is evidence sufficient that somebody committed murder—farmers, turpentine operators and employers of negro labor generally are doing the same thing all over Georgia.

There is no mistake about that; and in its last analysis the federal statute against peonage is being violated; in fact, everybody all over Georgia; and yet in a way, under the protection of the state laws,

How does this come about?

In the first place a trial judge in a county court or the criminal branch of any court having jurisdiction over misdemeanor cases, invariably imposes fine sentences with alternative work sentences.

The work sentence, as a rule, is not based upon the prevailing scale, or anything approximating the prevailing scale for common labor wages.

For instance, a judge will sentence "\$100 or twelve months on the road."

Perhaps he may sentence "\$100 or six months on the road," or "\$25 and three months on the road," etc. He is authorized in misdemeanors to sentence to a maximum of twelve months "in the gang."

If the judge is corrupt, or even overly friendly to a labor contractor he can fine "\$10, or twelve months," if he chooses. That is his discretion.

What results either way?

Under the fee system, which is vicious, and the forerunner of more corruption than any other one compensation system ever known to government, the solicitor and the sheriff or arresting officer, are anxious to get the fines paid so that the county shall always show a criminal credit balance equal to or over the drainage of the fee system, as practically all of the misdemeanor fines are distributed among court officials.

To that end therefore the labor contractors are encouraged to make "private agreements" with the offenders, most of whom are ignorant, and willing to get into private employment in lieu of their chaingang sentences.

The result is the offenders are taken to farms, turpentine plants, sawmills and so on, and "kept" until their fines have been privately worked out on the basis of the judge's alternative work sentence plus "advances" made through commissaries.

Like the victims of the loan shark they are in many instances always behind—always yoked to the wrong side of the employer's ledger.

Legal Stick to Force Contract.

But it is a free-will contract between employer and employee, says the defender of the system, and the employee can "take French leave" if he chooses, and the employer has no redress.

That is where the public again has slept over their opportunities for peonage that stand out in existing Georgia laws, particularly when coordinated.

To illustrate: In 1903 the legislature enacted what is commonly

called the contract labor law." It is in the statutes today. It carries the title, "Procuring money on contract for services."

It provides that where one party shall advance to another party money, chattels or other considerations of value, and accept therefor a contract for services on the part of the second party, to be performed in the future, upon the failure of the second party to thus perform such labor he shall be held as a common cheat and swindler, and amenable to the courts accordingly.

I shall not say the purposes of this law were vicious. On the contrary, it was inspired no doubt by an effort to prevent labor employers who extended advance credit to their men from having them jump their obligations.

I do say, however, its opportunities for serious abuse are so many that the evils resulting from it offset a thousand times any good that may result from its protective features to the employer who will not abuse its good intentions.

Now let's put together two outstanding facts; first, that an employer of negro labor is encouraged to pay the fines of misdemeanor convicts, and have the latter work out privately at his farm or mill or still the judge's alternative "work" sentence, on a fictitious valuation of labor, as it usually is, and second that, having such convicts, ignorant as they are, bound to him practically by an order of the court, he is enabled to hold over their heads the old 1903 contract labor law, which throws them back in jail upon the slightest infraction of his command.

Is that not an opportunity for peonage afforded by Georgia laws and court practices that is disgraceful?

At least it commercializes the labor of convicts that belong to the county, to the gain of an individual and to the loss of the county.

Is that not in reality what has occurred in Jasper county, perhaps for years prior to the murder of the negroes, killed, maybe, finally on the theory that "dead men tell no tales?"

Stripped of the murder feature is it not what is occurring all over Georgia today?

And that is not all—

The county, at whose expense the trials are held and the prisoners boarded after commitments, and whose safety and social serenity is only vouchsafed by the enforcement of law, loses every dollar of the services of those convicts who have been "paid out" and their work sentences practically commercialized.

The offenders themselves are spared no work; but under the detestable fee system the court officials get the fine, and the commercializer of convict labor gets the work. The county gets nothing.

That is all there is to it.

What Is Possible As a Remedy.

What is the remedy? In the first place, abolish the fee system in Georgia.

In the second place, the convict who is serving a work sentence is a ward of the county in which he is convicted, or his offense committed, and as such should be prohibited by law from making a contract for the private employment of his "work sentence" in lieu of his fine without an order from the court—

That is to say the trial judge should be made to personally assume responsibility for any contract made by a misdemeanor prisoner for his services on any extension of court, of payment of fine, on the part of a private employer.

It should be mandatory upon trial judges to impose work sentences as fine alternatives on a basis of a fair and just compensation for the specific prisoner's labor, consistent with the prevailing wage scale of the time.

If these things are done there will be a material decrease in peonage violations in Georgia; and the abominable system of convict leasing under a different name will be broken.

Probation Law

Weak and Tempting.

I have not dealt, however, with a minor phase of the real encouragement given by Georgia laws to the enforcement of involuntary servitude upon ignorant convicts who are "farmed."

It is not generally known that Georgia has a law providing actually for the virtual leasing of misdemeanor offenders.

This law was inspired by the best of motives no doubt; but the opportunities for abuse are so great that it should either be repealed, or the provision for probation officers in each county should be mandatory.

As it is the law is as weak as is its legitimate enforcement, and the temptations it opens up for actual "legal" collusion between court officials and labor contractors who specialize in the commercialization of convict labor are too apparent to be argued.

We have heard a great deal about alleged official collusion between officials and money-purloining offenders recently in Atlanta.

The probation law, passed by the assembly of 1913, is not only undesirable by reason of its weakness but actually vicious in that it promotes rather than merely encourages the practice of legalized peonage throughout the state.

The text of the first section of the statute is sufficient to judge its possibilities. It follows:

"Be it enacted by the authority of the general assembly of the state of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that in all prosecutions for crime, except as hereinafter provided, where the defendant has been convicted either upon a trial or upon his plea, where the court has power to sentence such defendant to

the chaingang, jail or other place of detention in this state, where it appears to the satisfaction of the court, that the circumstances of the case and the public good does not demand or require the defendant's incarceration, said court may mold its sentence so as to allow the defendant to serve same outside the confines of the chaingang, jail or other place of detention, under the supervision of the court, and in such manner and on such conditions as it

Peonage in Louisiana for Last 20 Years

N. Y. C. POST
APRIL 7, 1921

By Allowing ~~Peons~~ to Purchase Goods on the Landlord's Account, Debts Are Created Which Bring About Virtual Slavery

By J. D. Sayers

THAT a condition of peonage worse than the old chattel slavery exists to this day in the South is not very well known in the North and is surprisingly ignored in the South itself. This, too, in spite of Lincoln's proclamation and the later Federal statutes making it a felony to hold persons in involuntary servitude for debts, real or alleged. It would not be true to say that there are no communities and many individual planters and smaller farmers who are exceptions to this indictment of the cotton raising South, but the following paragraphs describe conditions at their worst—and it is a very prevalent worst.

The term "landlord" as here used includes both large and small land owners, for it is often the case that a small farmer holds a negro family in debt year after year, or finally "sells" the family's account, which, of course, means the family, too, just the same as the big plantation owner who deals in many families.

The writer is a native of Louisiana, reared in an outlying agricultural section where the negro population is three to every one of the whites. Having grown up with the peonage system, I naturally became familiar with it as few men could who might go there from the North or even from Southern cities to study the conditions. Very recent visits and close observation, purposely made, convince me that conditions of peonage are nearly as common and as much condoned by my home State and generally throughout the cotton raising sections of the whole South as during my childhood over twenty years ago.

How Peonage Starts

Practically all the negroes either work for wages or work on "shares"—that is, the owner furnishes the negro and his family land, animals, and tools with which to work and the tenant gives the landlord half his crop for the use of the land, work animals and tools. As soon as the young negro marries he begins working for some land owner under these conditions. He never has enough in cash ahead to buy everything in the way of food and clothing that he and his family need; therefore he must go to the landlord for these things. The landlord either has a plantation store or has arrangements made with the nearby village or small town store to credit the negro and charge the account to the landlord. In the majority of cases the negro is uneducated and unable to keep an accurate account of what he buys. He simply trusts the landlord. Even if he has an education and keeps an account; he is not permitted to compare his books with those kept by the landlord. The account as kept by the latter is the one the settlement is based on at the end of the year when the crop is sold.

If the negro has bought five bacon

andings for 40 cents a pound he is charged up with fifteen or so, and at a much higher price than the regular store price. He may have bought a barrel of flour, but he must pay for two or three at extortionate prices. He may have ploughed in rocky fields barefooted to save having to buy more than one pair of shoes, but he finds at the end of the year his memory has played a trick and he has really, according to the store account, enjoyed the luxury of two or three pairs of healthy priced shoes. His wife may have gone through the year with two cheap calico dresses and find in December that she has, in fact, dressed quite sumptuously during the year—according to the infallible store record.

Purchasing Negro Debts

At the end of the year the negro may decide that he could do better in some other locality and want to move. He and the landlord make a settlement. The negro's part of the crop is worth so much. The good book keeping landlord's account against the negro is always considerably more, never less. If some other landlord likes the negro's style of work well enough to pay the excess account, he can have the negro, starting the latter in with a good sized beginning of debt at the first of the year. Frequently the buying landlord bargains secretly with the selling landlord, securing a sort of split in the excess account charged against the negro. It often happens that the buyer thinks the price, or, speaking more diplomatically, the "account" of the negro is out of reason and a dispute between the landlords is the result. Recent incidents of this character make the telling of one of my earliest childhood adventures appropriate here.

A selling landlord had, in the opinion of the buyer, asked too much. The buyer declared he would move the negro and pay nothing unless the seller would name a reasonable sum. The two, with their respective supporters, relatives, and close sympathizers on each side, gathered at the negro's cabin, the one group intending to move the negro, the other to prevent such action. Each side was heavily equipped with Winchesters, double-action pistols, and shotguns loaded with buckshot. From a fence corner, where I had safely prepared to dodge stray

bullets, I heard them patch it up on a split—the difference basis—which saved some lives.

Some years ago, soon after the enactment of the Federal anti-peonage statute, some land owners in Florida were convicted under that law, and attention was attracted from all sections of the country. People living in far parts of this country were shocked out of their satisfied state of mind about this being a land wholly free; but they recovered from their shock with the comforting belief that the new slavery had been deservedly wiped out at one blow by the paternal Federal Government. It was not so and still is not so.

Planters Bought Prison Release

I knew three brothers in my home community in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana, who spent thousands of dollars to save themselves from terms in Federal prison about fourteen years ago. Two of them were left in poverty as a result, and the son of the third inherited the plantation of his father, and a year ago—I personally saw and know the exact truth of this statement—he was holding negroes in practical bondage on the strength of watered accounts in the same old way.

Little less than a year ago a friend of mine was threatened with death at Caldwell, Burleson County, Tex., for daring to raise his voice against the shameful system of peonage along the Brazos River in that section. I lived for several years in Texas and knew that the standard system of peonage as practiced generally in the South is prevalent throughout the cotton sections of Texas wherever negroes are permitted residence—they are not allowed to live in various portions of the State.

It would seem that what is needed to bring about abolition of great evils in this country is not new laws always, for we more often have those in sufficient quantity, but a wholesome, indignant public opinion aroused to such a point that slow, unaggressive Federal agents are spurred out of their sleepiness and forced to go aggressively and consistently about their duties of finding infractions of the laws they have sworn to actively enforce. If the Federal officers in the South should use the same initiative in running down violations of the anti-peonage laws as the prohibition enforcement officers use in enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment peonage in this good land would beat John Barleycorn into final oblivion.

Dr. Wilmer Tells Of "Sore Spots" That Hurt State Constitution 4/6/21

Atlanta's police system, the fee system and state laws making peonage possible, were cited as "sore spots" in Georgia, by Dr. C. B. Wilmer, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal church, the featured speaker of the weekly luncheon of the Lions' club, at the Ansley hotel, Tuesday afternoon.

Dr. Wilmer, who was given a rising vote of approval after he petitioned the Lions to lend practical aid in righting the wrongs, he

maintained, exist, made it plain that he was not dealing in personalities.

"If I had to choose between convicting whoever may be guilty in cases now before the public, or removing the causes that make guilt possible, I would unhesitatingly take the latter course," he declared.

There are three sore spots—three wrongs—in our legal situation," he continued. "The first is our police system. If you want to know definitely just what sort we have, read the official book describing America's police systems. It puts us down as having the worst in the United States.

"It is too great a temptation to let an opportunity for making money compete with the paramount proposition of convicting the guilty," Dr. Wilmer asserted, in referring to the fee system, as his second illustration of an undesirable condition.

"No matter who may be guilty or innocent in the Jasper 'murder farm' case," said the speaker, "the situation could never have come about except for state laws," which he maintained, practically encouraged peonage.

Several ladies, representing the Sheltering Arms were guests at the luncheon, and an address by Mrs. Walter C. Colquitt, asking the Lions' support for the institution's with the prosecution on the admissibility of certain evidence.

Solicitor-General Brand objected to the witness, A. J. Wismer, testifying to the actions of negroes on the plantation other than Manning on the ground that only in opinion could be expressed, or in answer would be the result of veresay, and, therefore, was irrelevant.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions.

THE RECENT GEORGIA EPISODE

Southwestern Christian Advocate
4/28/21

To folk not resident in the South and not having personal observation of the life of the Negro here, most of the revelations and reports of conditions, which harrow and waste the lives of the absolutely helpless, and defenseless Negro, seem incredible. "How can these things be," is the skeptical mental re-action of the average American citizen of other sections of our broad country. This has been, and threatened to continue, the bane of the Negro's pitiable predicament. He has not been able to convince the world of the injustices, the cruelties, and the deaths he is suffering. Those who perpetrate upon him, these inhuman practices have, on the contrary, been able to counteract or even forestall publicity by the Negro lest some effort should be made by Federal authorities to check these customs and to effect the Negro's actual rather than nominal citizenship and freedom. This is the cause of the wide-spread hostility to the Negro press, there is fear that the light will be turned on and the case of the Negro get ventilation before the bar of a just and equitable universal public opinion. But if the press be suppressed, God hath provided some better way of righteous publicity, even than the voice of the censored Negro press. It is the Associated Press of nature—rocks and rushing rivers tell it; even the whistling, wailing winds wrestling with the weird weeping willows, waving restlessly, tell the tale of woe of the miserable melancholy millions whose lives, enforced by cast, class and prejudice almost to the level of dumb brutes, are eked out in deathly silence unnoticed and undefended by that very public for whom the life blood of our strong courageous and promising sons was poured out upon its sacred altars of patriotism.

The Williams holocaust of human life in Georgia was not such a surprise to the Negro. To him cruelty is nothing new. He is acquainted thoroughly with every form of torture that race prejudice has yet devised to keep him a servile subject under the domination of the strong. He has experienced and knows a nobody else does what it is to be the butt of ridicule and discriminative legislation at the hands

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

of the mugwump politician building up his fortunes on color prejudice; he suffers from being rammed by city authorities into the unsanitary quarters of our cities; he bears his horrors for the temples of injustice, sometimes called courthouses, where his word is given no more credence than if he were not human; he suffers the entimilation, subterfuge and violence of the disfranchisement system; he swoons under the inhumanity of the convict lease system and the beastilizing life of the chain-gang; he knows of the exposure of his womanhood to the unrestrained passions and lecherous gaze of unprincipled men; his race is being crushed out under the cruelties of the peonage system! All these things he suffers and knows he suffers! Some things he is suffering, only the reckoning day of God will reveal. But these things are not new to the Negro. For years we have cried out to what we thought was a sympathetic and just public, but hitherto our cries have fallen on deaf ears. Since the early sixties the power and pride of many of the favored race, our brothers, seem to have rendered them indifferent to the simple claims of human justice. While the revelation to the world of conditions on the Georgia Murder Farm does not startle the Negro because of his familiarity with the brutalities of the South, there is something about the whole situation that is striking.

It is that Christianity is winning out even in Georgia, though the process has been slow. The South itself is being awakened to a sense of the suicidal policy which has afflicted the section for all these years. For sure signs of this note the freely expressed sentiment in the public press of the South that such conditions must not longer be possible within the borders of the Southland. Many of the leading papers have not only condemned in strongest terms the crime and its perpetrator, but have demanded that justice should be meted out in this case. So strongly was this sentiment urged, that trial was duly held and conviction and sentence effected.

Still the point of interest is that these highly successful efforts to arrest a diseased social

and civic condition were initiated and carried on by the foremost Christian citizens of the State from the Governor down to the citizens in private life. Those men who determined that this foul blot on the escutcheon of their beloved state should be wiped out, are the foremost leaders in the activities of Georgia's Churches. They are the originators of the notable Church Co-operation Committee now functioning so effectively in the church and civic life of Atlanta and Georgia and destined soon to become the most powerful agency in the South in the matter of race adjustment on the basis of the teachings of Jesus. A practical working religion that regulates aright all human relations and solves all human problems is the ideal of this group of Christian leaders. That these men are not a group of mere dreamers is shown by their aggressiveness and persistence in bringing to pass the rule of justice in this case. This it is that thrills us—to realize the power of the church to rise in her majesty in times of great social upheavals like that in Georgia and cause Right to prevail. Had it not been for the vigor and virility of the church life in that section it would have been difficult to have served the ends of justice. Thus it is again forced upon our thought that "God is our Refuge and strength." When the race is passing through these tunnels of special affliction and persecution we should remember that God is not dead. "He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never know retreat; He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat."

Reflection on these things awakens in the Negro in the Southland a hope that is not empty, but that is being gradually realized. It is an ill wind that blows no good. Out of the horrors of the Georgia Murder Farm, has come an aroused community consciousness. Hereafter it will be more difficult for such wrongs to be perpetrated against the humblest and helpless of the population. Corrupt social and civil conditions will find it less easy to do wholesale business on the soil which now the Christian Church has invaded and where she has set up her guardianship as Defender of the rights of humanity to life, liberty and well-being. Moreover this gruesome revelation of conditions under which their fellow-citizens

(over)

live will hereafter provoke in Americans real sympathetic interest in the welfare of every other citizen regardless of the color of his skin. *The Nation must note that the Negro is living under very abnormal conditons, such as hinder his progress and render his life unsafe in many quarters.* Out of it all there must come better living conditions for our Negro millions who sit in the region of darkness and in the shadows of doubt as to the value of our citizenship in this country whose massive fortunes rest largely upon the toil of the horny handed Negro of the Nation's working millions.

Then, too, the revelation of the Georgia planters' cruelties has helped to arrest the decay of the South. Such conditions are destroying the moral vitality of the institutions of the South. The longer they obtain, the greater the ravage they make. It would have been far better for the South and the Nation had these faulty conditions been exposed long ago to the sense of justice inherent in the best people of the South. Now that this evil has been corrected it gives the Christian people of the state, the place of commanding moral prestige in the eyes and thought of a critical public opinion.

Among these great moral gains must be cherished the revelation of the virility and practical efficiency of our common Christianity. *What we claim and what the Negro can boast is that the church in Georgia has rediscovered herself; has re-assured herself of her divine mission and power; has shown the practical value of Christianity, when invoked to the task, to settle our faith and confirm our hopes in God.*

Another Victim Of 'Murder Farm'

Found in Pond
ATLANTA GA CONSTITUTION
NOVEMBER 9, 1921
Discovery of Skeleton Brings
Number of Bodies Recovered to Thirteen.

An aftermath to the famous John S. Williams "murder farm" case developed Tuesday night when it was learned that another skeleton, believed to be that of one of the planter's sons' alleged victims, had been discovered in a pond a short distance from the Williams home in Jasper county. This discovery brought the number of bodies recovered as a result of the killings to thirteen.

While the skeleton was found almost ten days ago, when the waters of the pond had receded and left the bones near one of the banks, no reports of the discovery have been made public through the newspapers, but when county officials in Monticello were asked concerning the rumor given The Constitution by an officer in Atlanta, they verified the discovery.

The officials stated that it was impossible to identify the skeleton, but said they believed it to be that of one of the negroes alleged to have been killed by Williams' sons. Marvin, Leroy and Huland Williams now are under indictments for murder, but have been missing since a short time after the first bodies were found on the Williams farm.

Three Indictments.

Marvin Williams stands indicted for the murder of John Singleton in April, 1918. This crime is believed to have been the first of the long series of killings. The skeleton of this negro was discovered in the pond, according to testimony given the Jasper county grand jury when it investigated the "murder farm" case.

A negro called "Blackstrap" was alleged to have been shot by Charlie Chisholm, who was later killed, under orders of Huland Williams, in the fall of 1920 on the "Kelly place" of the Williams farm. His body was thrown into the pond.

Both Leroy and Marvin Williams were indicted for killing a negro called "Iron Jaw" on the "Kelly place" in the summer of 1920. This body also was said to have been thrown into the pond. Since these two bodies are the only ones known to have been thrown into the pond and still missing, officials believe the skeleton recently recovered to be that of one of the negroes.

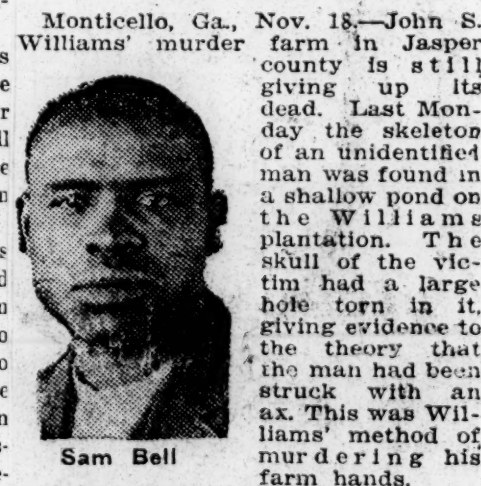
No search will be made for the other body, the authorities stated. A coroner's inquest was held over the skeleton and it was buried by the county. Fourteen or more negroes are alleged to have been killed on the plantation.

Williams Serving Sentence.

John S. Williams is now in the Fulton county tower, where he is serving a life sentence, having been convicted of murder of one of his employees by the Newton county superior court. Clyde Manning, negro farm boss, who confessed that he aided Williams in a number of the murders and who pointed out the graves of the victims, it is alleged, exposed Williams' immoral conduct with his own daughter. A new series of murders have been charged to Williams by Sam Bell, who was bought by Williams from a white farmer by the name of Easmon

There are eight indictments charging murder against Williams in Jasper county and one more in Newton. He has not been placed on trial in any of them. A motion for a new trial is now pending in the state supreme court, following Judge John B. Hutcheson's refusal to grant the petition in the superior court.

SKELETON, WITH SKULL CUT, FOUND Chicago Defender Shallow Pond Gives Up Body of Unfortunate Georgia Peonage Victim



Sam Bell

Monticello, Ga., Nov. 18.—John S. Williams' murder farm in Jasper county is still giving up its dead. Last Monday the skeleton of an unidentified man was found in a shallow pond on the Williams plantation. The skull of the victim had a large hole torn in it, giving evidence to the theory that the man had been struck with an ax. This was Williams' method of murdering his farm hands.

Neighboring farmers attempted to keep the news of the finding of the skeleton a secret, but fear was expressed that the government would make an investigation of other farms in the county, where, it is alleged, peonage is still existing. This makes a total of 13 murders discovered on or near the farm since Williams was arrested by federal agents last March.

Assaults Own Child

Williams is now serving life term in the Fulton county penitentiary. His three sons, Huland, Leroy and Marvin, are still at large, having been spirited away to safety following the arrest of their father. A government reward is offered for their arrest. They are implicated in the lynching of Eugene Hamilton, a minister, who, it is alleged, exposed Williams' immoral conduct with his own daughter. A new series of murders have been charged to Williams by Sam Bell, who was bought by Williams from a white farmer by the name of Easmon

for the sum of \$160. Bell, in company with a Defender reporter, told his story to federal agents.

He referred to Williams as "Mister Johnnie," and declared that during the 15 years he worked for him he only received \$10. He asserted that Williams, with the aid of three other farmers, murdered 26 Gypsies in 1911 when they were camping near his farm. Bell told a well connected story. He said trouble arose between Williams and a Gypsy chief-tain when the latter refused to trade a mule. A quarrel ensued in which Williams summoned reinforcements to win his battle.

Murders Gypsies

When the Gypsies were breaking camp, Bell said, Williams with his party waylaid them at a bend in the road and opened fire. Men, women and children were slain. What horses and dogs survived the battle were divided between the white men. Bell declared that Lindsey Peterson, Clyde Manning, Charley Chisholm and himself buried the dead Gypsies in a lime sink near the Williams plantation. Nothing was ever done in the way of an arrest.

For their faithfulness to Williams on this occasion, Bell said, they were each given a new pair of overalls as a Christmas gift. Bell escaped the Williams farm by night following the planter's arrest by federal agents.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions.

DR. GUS WILLIAMS ADMITS BROTHER KILLED NEGRO

But Declares He Was Acting in Self-Defense to Prevent Being Slashed With Knife.

NEVER SAW EMPLOYEE
OF FATHER'S ABUSED

Emphatically Denies Reports of Cruelty—"I Am Satisfied My Father Will Come Clear."

Atlanta Constitution
BY MARION KENDRICK,
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 5.—(Special.)—Declaring that the reports of cruelty to negroes working on his father's plantation had been greatly exaggerated and that there were no stockades maintained on the place, Dr. Gus Williams, wearer of the British war cross and one of the sons of John S. Williams, who is on trial here for murder, issued a statement to The Constitution tonight in which he admitted that his brother, Huland Williams, killed a negro last fall.

Since the beginning of his father's trial for murder in connection with the death of eleven negroes on and near the Jasper county plantation, the young physician has remained at his side as the evident counsellor of Greene F. Johnson, who is directing the defense.

And the interview given out tonight, Dr. Williams said, was to correct the impression that the scars and gashes exhibited to the grand jury during its recent investigation of the case by negroes said to have come from the farm were caused by his father or brothers.

Never Saw Employee Abused.
"I can safely say that I have not seen a single employee abused while working on our farm," he stated. "The negroes always had plenty of

food and were paid fair wages. Of course, most of them lost what they made in 'skin games,' but we couldn't help that. All the negroes have their 'skin,' and they'll be found playing on any farm in the state.

"The negroes that were carried before the grand jury came from convict camps before being employed on our farm, and it is possible they were mistreated there. Anyway they didn't receive all those scars and gashes while working for us."

"It is true," he continued, "that my brother, Huland, killed a negro last year, but he acted in self-defense. The negro was advancing on him with a knife, and my brother killed him to save his own life. The negro was later buried in a cemetery and a license was secured for his burial. So the killing must have been reported," he stated.

Three Williams Boys Absent.

The three Williams boys, who are charged with murders in Jasper county, were not at the trial Tuesday, and Dr. Williams was asked why they were absent and if they would be present tomorrow.

"I don't know why my brothers were absent today," he replied. "The last time I saw them was Friday. I was at the farm Saturday, but did not go down to their places. All of these reports about them having fled from the state are false so far as I know."

"About the mistreatment of negroes—why I have received letters and telephone calls from I don't know many negroes who used to work on our place and they always ask to be taken back," he said. "Only last night I had a negro to communicate with me regarding his return to the farm."

The physician was asked if he knew whether the negro witnesses recently seized in raids of the Jasper county farm will testify in favor of his father. He replied that he did not, but that he had heard that several of the negroes objected to being removed from the farm denied any knowledge of how the when the officers raided it. He also stated that he was uninformed on the testimony that would be submitted by the farmers residing near the Williams place.

"I am satisfied my father will come clear," he asserted. "As the trial progresses everyone will come to the same conclusion."

Rival Attorneys in Wordy
Clashes in Arguments.
Personalities Are Freely
Indulged In.

HOWARD AND JOHNSON
TO FURNISH CLIMAX

Peonage (Gus) Williams' Farm. Accused Planter Nervous as He Faces Jurors to Make His Unsworn Statement.

Constitution 4/8/21
BY MARION KENDRICK,
Staff Correspondent of the Constitution.

Covington, Ga., April 7.—(Special.)—The fate of John S. Williams will rest with the jury trying the famous "murder farm" case, early Friday afternoon.

When Greene F. Johnson, for the defense, has followed Ex-Congressman William M. Howard, of the state, Judge John B. Hutcheson will deliver his charge and the twelve men, holding Williams' life in their hands, will retire to find a verdict, which all the country awaits.

In the event that Williams is found guilty and is sentenced to hang, Attorney Johnson tonight announced that he will immediately move for a new trial. He gave no intimation of what his procedure will be if the verdict and sentence is otherwise.

Charged with the killing of eleven negroes, the Jasper county planter has for two days faced the court in his trial for the murder of Lindsey Peterson, one of the victims of the "murder farm." Clyde Manning, a negro boss of the plantation, has told the jury a graphic story of how he knocked some of the employees on the head and drowned others under the orders and assistance of John Williams.

The negro withstood the withering cross-examination fire of Greene Johnson, and the state has attempted to corroborate with both white and negro witnesses a greater part of the circumstantial evidence surrounding his testimony.

JOHN WILLIAMS ON STAND IN OWN DEFENSE.

John Williams took the stand in his own behalf this morning, and to being removed from the farm denied any knowledge of how the eleven negroes met their death. He declared Manning was a "bad, hard-headed nigger," yet failed to connect him with the crimes.

When he had given his version of the care to the jury Williams returned to his seat—the only witness in behalf of his case. His testimony was admitted without oath. On this the defense rested its case.

Although the crowd in the courtroom early this morning was not so large as those of previous days, when Williams took the stand no standing space was left, when the attorneys started their arguments the same condition prevailed.

Court will convene tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and Mr. Howard will immediately launch into the final argument of the state before the jury. The ex-congress-

man's conduct of the state's case has attracted much attention, and his address with that of Greene Johnson, who has staged a remarkable fight for his client, is expected to attract the largest crowd of the trial.

SHERIFF TESTIFIES, CORROBORATING MANNING.

The last two state's witnesses who testified were put on the stand to corroborate statement of Clyde Manning, negro farm boss. Manning told the jury yesterday Williams directed the killing of the men, three of whom were drowned in Newton county.

Rena Manning, wife of Clyde Manning, testified in corroboration of her husband's statement that the night Peterson, Willie Preston and Harry Price were last seen alive, Williams carried them and Manning and Charlie Chisholm off in his car. Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of Newton county, testified that Manning identified the bodies of Peterson, Preston and Price found in Newton county rivers and told where the other bodies could be found.

The state rested here and Williams and his counsel withdrew from the court room for a conference.

COURTROOM ASTIR WITH SPECULATION.

While Williams conferred with his attorneys, everyone in the courtroom was astir. Many were speculating on the line of procedure the defense would follow, for only Williams, members of his family, counsel and a few newspaper men knew that it had already been decided to rest his case with his statement to the jury.

Exactly at 11:15 o'clock he re-entered the courtroom. Judge Hutcheson rapped for order. The deputies cleared a passageway from the door so that the defendant and party might reach their seats. Despite the packed condition of the room, no sound could be heard other than the creaking of seats as men leaned forward, and the whispers of the attorneys' last minute conference with their client.

Greene Johnson took the floor, looked toward the jury and then to the judge.

WILLIAMS ON STAND IN HIS OWN BEHALF.

"Your honor, the defendant will take the stand in his own behalf. I will request," he said, "you to instruct him."

With this he resumed his seat, and during the whole of the long statement of his client, he remained with his elbow propped on his knee and his chin in his hand. His eyes never left Williams. To his right, Mr. Howard, who had conducted the prosecution's examination, twirled his eyeglasses in one hand and listened attentively to Williams' every word.

Solicitor Brand smiled once or twice. Williams testified toward the federal agents grouped around the table. C. C. King and W. H. Hill, associated with Mr. Johnson, glanced about the courtroom and at times made notes on parts of the statement.

Mrs. Williams, sitting with them, was dressed in black and appeared nervous during the ordeal. Her eyes never left her husband. She held a newspaper in her hand folding and unfolding it as her husband's narration was unfolded.

WILLIAMS SHOWS STRAIN OF TRIAL.

Williams himself showed the first strain from the long trial as he

mounted the stand. He sat with legs crossed and made his statement in short, jerky sentences in a voice that was so modulated that he could not be heard by the horde of spectators in the rear of the courtroom.

He was noticeably nervous. Throughout his statement, his trembling hands alternated in rubbing his cheek and playing with his mustache.

The jurors listened impassively. Some stolidly chewed tobacco. Others did not even fasten their gaze on Williams as he talked, while still others sat in rapt attention.

SONS ANSWERED CALL TO ARMS.

"I have never had any kind of criminal charges against me, or my boys before this," were among the first words of Williams to the jury.

Williams said his four grown sons were among the first in the county to answer the country's call to war.

"Like most farmers, I have bonded out negroes and worked them," he continued.

Williams said he paid these men wages. He then told of the federal investigation that started last February. He asked the department of justice agents to tell him exactly what peonage was and said on being told that working bonded negroes was, that he told the federal agents he might have been technically guilty and that "most Georgia farmers were if their definition was correct."

FEDERAL AGENT SCORED MANNING.

"You lying scoundrel, you ought to have your neck broke," Williams said one of the agents said to Manning after comparing the version Williams had given about the recapture of Gus Chapman, a negro who had run off and that Manning had captured. Chapman had been brought back after attacking Manning's wife, the defense had explained. Williams said Manning denied to the agents that he knew of the capture of Chapman.

"The surroundings are much better than we expected," agents told him, he said, and added, "you may be technically guilty of peonage."

The agents commented that the farm hands were "well fed and well dressed," Williams said.

"Mr. Johnny, you ain't treated me right; you made me out a liar right before those agents," Williams said Manning told him afterwards.

"They told me I was just as guilty of peonage as you were," he also quoted the negro as saying.

GAVE EACH NEGRO MONEY THEY ASKED.

The last night Preston, Price and Peterson were seen, he said, they came to him and said they wanted to visit their homes, but would return. They asked for and got \$5 each, he added, and he offered to take them to the train. Charlie Chisholm and Clyde Manning got 50 cents apiece from him. Williams declared, and went off.

"That was the last I ever saw of those boys," he said, referring to Peterson, Price and Preston.

Williams said he asked Manning next day and the latter replied: "They went off last night."

Williams was talking in a calm, clear voice and occasionally made a slow gesture as he addressed the jury.

He told of hearing later that the negroes' bodies had been found and of his later arrest.

"Whoever put the bodies in the river did it for a purpose," he said.

"If I had done this crime, gentlemen, I would have had plenty of time to get where they could not put their hands on me," he asserted.

DECLARES HE IS FALSELY ACCUSED.

Williams asserted he was "falsely accused," and added, "what they done to him (Manning) to make him accuse me, I don't know."

"I did not know what he was going to say till we heard him on the stand," he said.

Williams then went into details of Manning's long employment on the farm.

Williams said Clyde Manning's mother asked him to take Clyde Manning and others of her children, take care of them, as he said the mother could not control them. He told of paying doctors' bills and of trying to "make them do right."

"As far as this case is concerned, I am absolutely innocent," said Williams.

"That's about all I can say," he concluded and left the stand.

AGREEMENT REACHED ON ARGUMENTS.

Judge Hutcheson commented on the "splendid order" maintained by the crowd and repeated his warning against any demonstration.

The state announced it expected to use three hours and the defense approximately five, in the arguments.

The order of arguments was announced as follows:

C. O. King, Covington, for defense.

Graham Wright, assistant state attorney-general, prosecution.

W. H. Key, Monticello, Ga., defense.

Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, prosecution.

Green F. Johnson, Monticello, defense.

Mr. King started speaking soon after the afternoon session began, arguing on the law regarding omission of corroboration of the testimony of an accomplice.

He added the defense expected to rely on the "alibi," which he said Williams had established "as far as possible" by describing how he was at home the night the crimes are charged against him.

NO PEONAGE VIOLATION SHOWN.

Mr. King called the court's attention to the laws of corroboration, maintaining that the state had not substantiated its case of murder against Williams. He also requested the judge to charge the jury on the establishing of an alibi.

Declaring that the state had based the motive of the murder on conditions at the Williams farm, Mr. King took the position that no evidence showing violation of the peonage laws had been introduced.

"If a condition of peonage existed there, the federal authorities, in the discharge of their duty, would have lodged cases against Mr. Williams," he said. "Yet we find them telling of a little 'red house.' It has been mentioned often and you will hear more of it."

"Mr. Brown stated that there was a lock and chain on the door, while Mr. Wismer failed to corroborate him. The latter told you that he saw no lock nor chain."

NEGRO FRIGHTENED INTO HIS STORY.

"When Brown told Clyde Manning that he had lied to him about the Chapman affair the negro was frightened."

"You lying scoundrel, you lied to me and ought to be hung." That's what Brown told him, and right here, if you are looking for motives, you can have one for Clyde Manning. And what corroboration has the state to support this negro's testimony?

"Out of the seven witnesses introduced by the prosecution only Rena Manning has served to corroborate her husband's testimony."

and in this case I say that the wife of an accomplice should not be credited.

"She made one statement alone, which should demonstrate to you that she was lying. Locked in her home, she tells you, she heard the exhaust of an automobile as far as from here to the jail. You know as well as I do that it is impossible."

Mr. King then charged that the state had trained its witnesses and that every one of them had showed their schooling when placed on the stand. He declared that the state had failed to make out its case and that when the jury considered the evidence, if there was the slightest doubt as to Williams' guilt, he should be acquitted.

GRAHAM WRIGHT OPENS FOR STATE.

He concluded his argument at 2:15 o'clock, having spoken forty minutes. Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright followed him.

Mr. Wright referred the court to several authorities on the extent of corroboration necessary to convict. He declared that where a series of trifling circumstances are connected, they become important and are sufficient. An accomplice's testimony, he said, needs only corroboration of circumstantial evidence. He requested the judge that, in charging the jury on the establishing of an alibi, to state that it is the burden of the defense to substantiate such an alibi.

BLIGHT CAST ON STATE'S HISTORY.

Turning to the jury, the assistant attorney-general gave a brief recital of the state's evidence and history of the case. He declared that the murder of the eleven negroes on the Jasper county farm was the worst blight on the state's history, and that the evidence pointing to the guilt of Williams demanded his conviction.

"There is no question of manslaughter or justifiable homicide involved in this case," he asserted.

Mr. Wright referred to the testimony of Rena Manning, Clyde Freeman and the two federal agents, stating that all of the circumstances part of the negro Manning's story to the jury had been corroborated and that no stronger finger of suspicion or motive could point toward Williams.

MANNING ACCUSED OF CONCOCTING STORY.

Following the assistant attorney-general, Mr. Key reviewed the case from the defense's viewpoint. He characterized Manning's testimony as having been concocted, and turning to Solicitor Brand he asked what "was the state going to do with the black murderer."

"Are you planning to turn him loose to roam on Decatur street in Atlanta? That's the kind of nigger Atlanta seems to want."

"Let me ask another question: What happened to Clyde Manning as he sat in jail with a rope around his neck?" Mr. Brand objected to the speaker stating that Manning had a rope placed around his neck while in jail, as no evidence to this effect had been introduced in the trial.

"If your honor pleases," said Mr. Key, "Mr. Williams stated to the jury that Mr. Brown, the father told him that he had heard Manning nag a rope around his neck."

ATTORNEYS IN WARM COLLOQUY.

Because Williams made his statement as a defendant not under oath, gave Mr. Key no right to state irrelevant testimony as facts to the jury, was the position taken by Mr. Howard. The state scored when Mr. Key replied that he had "the right to draw inferences from Mr. Williams' statement."

Mr. Howard jumped to his feet.

He was smiling. "We are perfectly willing for Mr. Key to draw inferences but not facts."

Later in his speech, Mr. Key turned to Mr. Howard and shouted the question, "What is the state going to do with Manning, Mr. Howard?" The ex-congressman arose and in a dignified manner replied: "My young friend, the laws of Georgia provide and have provided for many years what shall be done with Manning."

Mr. Key concluded his argument with the assertion that the state had not established a case of murder against Williams. He spoke fifty-three minutes.

BRAND VIGOROUSLY ASSAILS KEY.

In opening his remarks, Solicitor Brand objected to the references of the two preceding speakers of "defense" that the state had no defense, the date of the alleged murder.

He read from a decision and asserted that the state was not required to name the date in the bill of indictments.

"The gentleman preceding me frequently intimated to you that I would not prosecute Manning," he continued. "As an official of this good old state of Georgia, I have sworn to prosecute and not protect; we have laws to protect the innocent and convict the guilty."

"I will prosecute Manning and do my best to convict him." Turning from the jury and shaking his finger at Attorney Key, "Is that plain?" he demanded.

"Could it be made any plainer to you as to what course I shall follow?"

He declared that Mr. Key's object in "floating such an argument before the jury was only an effort to play to the gallery." The dragging in of such a question, said the solicitor, only demonstrated the position of the defense.

"I don't know what made Mr. Key mad," he continued, "but he has jumped us all; no one has been left out except his honor, and I expected him to be caught in the sweeping fire before my friend finished. Why, he even advised Mr. Underwood to return his fee as attorney for Manning and employ a preacher to pray for the negro's soul. That may be excellent advice, don't know, but it will not provide for a lawyer's wife."

The solicitor painted a vivid picture of the murder of Lindsey Peterson and Willie Preston, and how Clyde Manning pointed out the graves of nine other negroes. He asserted that it mattered not that the dead men were negroes, saying that they had the same right of protection in the courts as white men. He concluded at 4:35, having spoken fifty minutes.

Court was adjourned until o'clock Friday morning.

DEFENSE WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON AN ALIBI

Williams Claims He Was Home When Murders Were Committed and That He Had No Knowledge of Them

Montgomery Advertiser
(Associated Press.) 4/8/21

COVINGTON, GA., April 7—

The fate of John S. Williams, accused of the murder of eleven

negro farm hands will rest with a jury tomorrow. In even, dispassionate tones, the Jasper county planter, testifying in his own behalf today, declared his "absolute innocence" of the charge of murder and when court adjourned late today the trial had been concluded except for the two closing arguments and the judge's charge.

Williams will be either convicted of the murder of one of the men for whose death he is specifically on trial, or he will be acquitted, for attorneys on both sides argued this afternoon that there could be no "half way verdicts" and the defendant himself told the jury in so many words that the killings were "murder." A verdict of murder might be accompanied by recommendation for mercy carrying life imprisonment.

Clyde Manning, negro farm boss for 14 years on the Williams place, and self confessed accomplice of the planter, was pointed to by Williams as the man having a "probable motive" for the killings. Charles C. King, pleading for Williams' acquittal, told the jury Manning, ignorant of the penalty for peonage, had become alarmed at the federal investigation and that the evidence indicated he was the only person who had a motive for the killings.

Mr. King asserted the defense expected to rely largely on Williams' "alibi" which he said Williams had sworn which under Georgia law pre-established "as far as possible" by describing how he was at home the night the three negroes were killed, and asserted the state had offered no open and close. No limit was placed on legal corroboration of the testimony, attorneys spoke today.

Graham Wright, assistant attorney general, pointed to various testimony as corroboration and said the law left it to the jury to make final decision on that question. He termed Manning incapable of planning and carrying out the crimes "under the eyes of Williams and his family," and named Williams as the guilty man.

Manning also will be put on trial for the murders, it was announced today, the exact time to be decided later, and his attorney, E. Marvin Underwood, said he would not enter a plea of guilty.

"Clyde Manning shall not escape," declared Solicitor General Brand in urging conviction of Williams. "I could not under the law permit him to escape."

Manning had testified for the state that by Williams orders the negroes were weighted down with rocks and thrown alive into rivers or knocked in the head and buried where they fell, and Williams taking the stand today briefly recited all he said he knew of the deaths of Lindsey Peterson, Willie Preston and Harry Price, three drowned the same night in Newton county. He is on trial for murder of Peterson and he did not go into the other cases.

The defendant, accused by the state of "Georgia's most atrocious murders," has watched the proceedings calmly throughout the trial, even smiling once or twice and today he was as cool as any of the spectators who packed the court room almost to suffocation to hear his story.

These were the first criminal charges of any kind ever filed

against him, he declared, in his 54 years of life and told, proudly it seemed, that his four grown sons were among the first to answer the country's call to war. He admitted he might have been technically guilty of peonage as he had worked negroes who owed him money. He had told federal investigators that when they first came to the farm, he added, and had also declared he always paid and fed these negroes. These agents replied the negroes on his place were among the "best fed and clothed" they had seen, he declared. If he were technically guilty of peonage "most Georgia farmers also were" he added.

"I am absolutely innocent," he told the jury in conclusion as he reverted to the murder charge.

The state had rested earlier in the day with introduction of Rena Manning, wife of Clyde Manning, and Sheriff B. L. Johnson of Newton county, in an effort to corroborate parts of Manning's story. The woman testified the negroes left with Williams, Manning and Charlie Chisholm, the night they were last seen alive, as for Williams' acquittal, told the jury Manning had declared. Sheriff Johnson said Manning identified the three bodies found in Newton county and later confessed and told where the others could be found. The negro's words were borne out by investigation, the sheriff said.

Williams was the only witness for the defense, appearing on the stand under "alibi" which he said Williams had sworn which under Georgia law pre-established "as far as possible" by describing how he was at home the night the three negroes were killed, and asserted the state had offered no open and close. No limit was placed on legal corroboration of the testimony, attorneys spoke today.

Mr. King opened for the defense, followed in order by Mr. Wright for the state, W. P. Key of Monticello, Georgia, for the defense, and Solicitor General Brand for the state, W. M. Howard, former congressman from Georgia, will close for the prosecution tomorrow, making the first address of the day, and the final plea will be made by Green F. Johnson of Monticello, chief counsel for the defendant. About three hours are expected to be consumed tomorrow in argument.

Charges were flung back and forth as the lawyers pleaded with the jury today. Mr. Key asserted it was "unfair" to put Williams on trial so soon after arrest—only two weeks, he said, and referring to Assistant Attorney General Wright, sent by Governor Dorsey and former Congressman Howard, employed by a group of citizens, told the jury "the state has decided that if they can't convict by evidence, they take the position they will convict by lawyers."

Solicitor Brand charged the appointing counsel with "playing to the gallery" and seeking to invoke "race prejudice" and declared the murder of the negroes should be punished; that under the law they had the same protection as the white man. He also asked why Williams never inquired into the whereabouts of the eleven negroes whose disappearance was a mystery until their bodies were found.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

SUN OF WILLIAMS ORDERED SLAYING, IS DECLARATION

Secret Informer's Testimony May Lead to Discovery of Still Other Bodies.

Constitution 4/1/21
**REQUEST FOR CHANGE
OF VENUE WITHDRAWN**

Williams Will Enter Complete Denial of Manning's Charges, Attorney Announces.

BY MARION KENDRICK
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., March 31.—(Special.)—Startling disclosures of the merciless killing of two negroes, in addition to the eleven blacks whose bodies have already been discovered in graves on the John S. Williams plantation and in nearby rivers, were heard in the Newton county courthouse here this afternoon by officials who are leading the investigation of the "murder farm."

A former negro employee of Williams gave the information, it is stated, and it was later announced that deputies are busily engaged tonight in securing substantiating evidence which may result in discovery of more bodies.

The negro, whose name is being veiled in secrecy, told the officials that he had seen a negro called "Blackstrap," standing under a shed on the Williams farm, killed by Charlie Chisholm, another negro. He charged that Huland Williams ordered the crime committed, one, of the leading investigators informed The Constitution.

Chisholm killed "Blackstrap" last fall, it was stated, and was himself later drowned in the Alcovy river at Water's bridge, by Clyde Manning and Williams, according to Manning's confession.

Another Killing.

In addition to this murder, it is stated that the negro also told of the commission of one other killing, and a search is now being made for the companion of the informant, who he declared was with him at the time he witnessed the Blackstrap homicide. The authorities would not disclose the other evidence they received, but it was learned that it involved crimes alleged to have been committed by Williams and his sons.

Newton county officials are powerless to act on the cases against the Williams boys, because the crimes are said to have been committed in Jasper county, but when the grand jury of the latter county convenes on April 11 Solicitor-General Doyle, of this court, has additional evidence charging Huland, Julian and Marvin Williams with the murder of at least three negroes. This evidence was placed in the solicitor's hands by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, who received it from federal agents, it is stated.

None of the Williams boys has been arrested, it was learned Thursday night, and it is not probable that any effort to arrest them will be made until after the grand jury meets. Solicitor Brand, however, is continuing his investigations in Newton county and Atlanta, it was learned, and will offer his evidence to the Jasper prosecutor. No search has yet been started for the other alleged missing bodies.

Withdraw Request.

With these new developments announced by the prosecution, the second step in the legal battle of the trial of Williams in connection with the murders was made when Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for the defendant, filed a motion with Judge John B. Hutcheson for a change of venue from the Newton county superior court.

This motion was later withdrawn by Mr. Johnson, who stated that the move was made largely as a precautionary one to preserve all rights of the defense. He said that he now felt sure that a fair and impartial jury could be secured for the trial and that there was no danger of violence.

"So far as the defense is concerned," said Mr. Johnson, "I would not care to discuss in advance of the trial the line upon which we will proceed, except to say that in general we will enter a complete denial of Manning's charges. I know nothing of the state's case except what I have been able to gather from the newspapers and current reports.

"We all know that in a case of this character exaggeration runs riot and trifles light as air frequently become magnified into mountains. Moreover," he continued, "a lawyer himself cannot tell

what course he will adopt until he hears the evidence of the other side. We may work out in advance a general idea of how we will proceed, but we frequently change the line of procedure in the midst of the trial of a case.

Precautionary Measures.

Largely as a precautionary measure to preserve all our rights, we filed a formal petition for a change of venue, but we shall not insist upon the petition, as we are now satisfied that Williams can obtain a fair and impartial trial in Newton county and that there is no danger of violence to him. So we have dismissed and withdrawn the petition."

"It is very doubtful," he asserted, whether we will be ready for trial next week. It is no light matter to prepare for trial of a case of this character with so many possible ramifications. I have been engaged in Newton superior court practically every day since Williams was indicted, and have not had the opportunity to examine any witnesses for the defense, nor even to go fully into the case with my client.

"In recognition of the situation, Judge Hutcheson considerably granted me a leave of absence from Newton superior court, and I expect to occupy the entire time between now and Tuesday in getting ready for the trial.

"I have not seen or consulted with any of Mr. Williams' sons since the indictment except Dr. Gus Williams. If, as reports indicate, they are to be arrested and lodged in jail in Jasper county upon any outstanding warrants, we would have to appeal to the judge of superior courts of the Ocmulgee circuit to obtain their release as witnesses in Covington, in the event we deemed their testimony material. While so far as I can ascertain from newspaper reports of Manning's confession, he has not implicated these sons in the homicides, yet it may be that their testimony would become material on some collateral issues in the case."

Text of Petition.

The complete petition of the defendant, which was withdrawn, follows:

"Georgia, Newton County.—To the Superior Court of Said County and the Hon. John B. Hutcheson, Judge of Said Court: The petition of John S. Williams, respectfully, to the court, shows:

"1. That on the 24th day of March, 1921, at the regular March term of the superior court of said county, there was returned against petitioner and one Clyde Manning, by the grand jury of said county, a true bill of indictment charging petitioner and the said Clyde Manning with the offense of murder alleged to have been committed on the person of one Willie Pressley, on the 19th day of March, 1921.

"2. Upon the same day of the returning as true said bill of indictment, your petitioner, John S. Williams, was arrested and duly incarcerated in the common jail of said county, under and by virtue of a bench warrant issued on said indictment; but petitioner shows that owing to the excitement and inflamed condition of the public mind in the county of Newton, your petitioner was, by order of the court, removed for safe keeping to the common jail of Fulton county, where he now is and remains incarcerated.

"3. Petitioner shows that said case has been assigned for trial in said court at Covington, Ga., said county of Newton, on the 5th day of

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

April, 1921.

Act of Assembly.

"4. Petitioner shows that although guiltless of the crime charged against him there is danger of violence being attempted to be committed on him if carried back from the common jail of Fulton county to Newton county for trial, said Newton county being the county where the said crime is alleged to have been committed, and petitioner fears that if put on trial now or on the 5th day of April, 1921, that violence will be attempted to be committed on him as contemplated by an act of the general assembly of the state of Georgia approved August 21, 1911, and found and printed upon page 74 of the Georgia laws of 1911, and now embodied in code section 964 of Park's code of the state of Georgia, volume 6, and to prevent which said violence the said act was passed, and this petition for a change of venue is based solely upon the ground that there is danger of violence being attempted to be committed on petitioner if carried back to said county of Newton, where the crime is alleged to have been committed, within the purview and contemplation of said act of the general assembly of 1911 above referred to.

"Wherefore, the premises considered, petitioner prays and moves for a change of venue of the trial of said case from said county of Newton as provided for in said act of the general assembly, and that the trial of the same be transferred to such county as may be agreed upon by the solicitor-general and petitioner's counsel, or if no such agreement can be reached that the court shall then designate the county as by statute provided and have the case transferred accordingly and to this end petitioner prays that a rule nisi be issued directed to the solicitor-general of the Stone Mountain circuit, requiring him to show cause, if any he can, at such time and place as may be appointed by the court why this petition and motion for a change of venue should not be granted."

Call on Dorsey.

A delegation from Jasper county, headed by Dr. A. F. Carey, of Monticello, visited Governor Hugh M. Dorsey at the state capitol Thursday and assured him that the citizens of the county are co-operating in the investigation of the murder and peonage cases.

Governor Dorsey has not yet decided on the sending of troops to Covington when the Williams' trial started next Tuesday. He stated that this action would have to be demanded by Judge Hutcheson. The judge is still undecided on the matter, but he has intimated on several occasions that he would probably call for troops.

**Judge Hutcheson Says
People Anxious That
Justice Be Done and Soldiers
Are Not Needed.**

**EVIDENCE GIVEN JURY
OF FIFTEEN KILLINGS**

**Lawyers for State and for
Defense Spend Sunday
Preparing for Hearing in**

Covington Tuesday 4/3/21
Constitution 4/1/21

BY MARION KENDRICK.
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 3.—(Special.) With the trial of John S. Williams, prominent Jasper county farmer, charged with murder in connection with the killing of eleven negroes in the vicinity of his farm twenty miles from here, set for Tuesday morning, officials and attorneys for both the state and defense spent a busy day examining witnesses and making investigations here today, while Judge John B. Hutcheson announced no troops will be requested to guard the courthouse.

In making the announcement that he had decided not to ask Governor Hugh M. Dorsey to send troops to Covington for the trial, Judge Hutcheson declared that he had the greatest confidence in the law-abiding people of both Newton and Jasper county to see that nothing improper occurs during the hearing. He added that the general public sentiment demanded justice and that, in his opinion, nothing would happen to interfere with Williams receiving a fair trial.

No Need of Troops.

"While I have been considering suggestions from important state officials to call troops here next week," he said, "I feel that such action would be unnecessary. The better class of people of both Newton and Jasper counties are law-abiding and desired that the defendants in the murder cases be given a fair and impartial trial," he said.

It was definitely established by the correspondent tonight that the Newton county grand jury had received evidence during its recent investigations of the murders on the "death farm" to the effect that fifteen negroes have been killed there since 1915. The Constitution's story Sunday morning concerning Williams' admission to the grand jury that one of his sons had killed a negro on the plantation last fall, claiming that he acted in self-defense, was read and pronounced correct by another prominent investigator tonight. He indicated that the trial would reveal many angles of the case which have not yet been released for publication.

Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, was in Covington throughout the day conferring with witnesses for the defense. During the day he visited the Williams farm and made a tour of the sections of Jasper and Newton counties where the eleven bodies were discovered after Clyde Manning, an employee of Williams, had confessed and pointed out the graves to officials.

Manning's Confession.

In his confession, Manning declared that he and other negroes killed some of the blacks at Williams' instructions, while the white

farmer assisted in the murder of others. Both Williams and Manning are held in the Fulton county Tower in Atlanta with other material witnesses. The defendants and witnesses will be brought here early Tuesday morning by Sheriff B. L. Johnson, who will be accompanied by a number of armed deputies.

Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, who will direct the prosecution of Williams, stated that he would hold an important conference with W. M. Howard, former congressman and prominent Augusta attorney who who been engaged to assist the solicitor and Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright. The conference will be held in Atlanta, he stated, and all three will return to Covington in the afternoon.

STATE TO REST CASE ON NEGRO CONFESSION

Agents of Department of Justice Will Throw All Evidence at Hand Into Williams Trial; Negro Witnesses Are Arrested

**WILLIAMS IS FATHER
OF TWELVE CHILDREN**

Plantation Owner Makes Flat Denial of Murder and Peonage Charges; Bared Backs Shown as Mistreatment Evidence

Montgomery Advertiser
ATLANTA, GA., April 2—

Agents of the department of justice whose investigations into alleged peonage conditions are held by state officials to have precipitated the killing of eleven negro farm hands employed by John S. Williams, Jasper county plantation owner, will place all their evidence at the state's disposal during the trial of Williams at

Covington beginning next Tuesday, it was announced tonight.

Williams is to go on trial charged with the murder of one of the negroes. A number of interested citizens he is alleged to have carried into New-Town county and had drowned in an effort to prevent possible testimony against him in federal courts. The state's case was expected to rest largely on a confession attributed to Clyde Manning, negro who for 11 years worked on the Williams farm, who according to deputies declared he killed most of the negroes at Williams' orders and later killed another negro who aided in the earlier killings. Later, W. Hughes in charge of the local bureau department of justice said to-night there were peonage conditions on five other farms in Jasper county but that no peonage had been found in Newton county. The federal grand jury is slated to appear against him, will meet here Monday in inquire into peonage.

Williams, 54 years old and the father of 12 children has made a categorical denial of the charges of murder and peonage as well as mistreatment of negro laborers, many of whom were said to have bared their backs before the grand jury at Covington, and showed scars attributed to beatings for not working hard.

"Federal and state officials made another visit to the Williams farm to-night and took in custody several more negroes desired as material witnesses in the trial and in the federal investigation. It was understood that Endine Manning, mother of Clyde Manning was among them.

"Not only have the physical facts in our cases against Williams, been corroborated but all our evidence will be substantiated by the testimony and affidavits of white people" said Solicitor A. M. Brand when asked tonight about the procedure he will follow.

"Williams will go to trial first on a charge of the murder of Lindsey Peterson, whose body was found in Yellow river a month ago, and trials on charges of murdering Willie Preston and Harry Price are planned to follow.

"Possibility that the defense would seek to show that the dead negroes were the victims of a gang of negro robbers was indicted tonight in advices from Covington. It was declared of the dead negroes found had been rifled.

Definite announcement of counsel in the case, made tonight indicated that one of the hardest fought legal battles in Georgia is to be fought out next week and there was a possibility that the first move by the defense might be to challenge the jurisdiction of Newfown county superior court on the grounds that there is no evidence that any negroes were actually killed in that county. The bodies of three were found in Yellow river which separates Newton and Jasper counties.

Williams will be represented by an array of counsel headed by Greene E. Johnson, Solicitor General A. M. Brand will have the aid of Wm M. Howard of Augusta, former congressman from Georgia Governor Dorsey announced to-night, Graham Wright, assistant state attorney general also is expected to attend the trial on behalf of the state.

Manning will have his interests looked after by E. Marvin Underwood, formerly general counsel of the United States Railway administration during the world war who has since returned to his practice in Atlanta. The fol-

lowing announcement was made today by W. Woods White a local capitalist. "A number of interested citizens from the state at large, feeling especially under the peculiar facts of the case that the interests of justice demand that Clyde Manning have the benefit of competent counsel at his trial and Manning being unable to employ same, have retained counsel to represent him. Such counsel will be E. Marvin Underwood and another local attorney who will be associated with him and whose name will be announced later."

One hundred veniremen have been summoned for the trial before Judge John B. Hutcheson in superior court. Both sides have subpoenaed many witnesses, Williams and Manning, who are slated to appear against him, will be taken to Covington at daybreak Tuesday, according to present plans.

Under guard of deputy sheriffs. They have been held in the Tower here since their arrest.

STAGE NOW READY FOR TRIAL TODAY OF JOHN WILLIAMS

All Indications Point to One of the Hardest Fought Legal Battles in State's History.

Constitution 4/5/21
BY MARION KENDRICK,
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 4.—(Special.)—Last-minute conferences of attorneys, hurried preparations by court officials and the hum of excited comment on the streets, as the many startling disclosures of the Jasper county "murder farm" are discussed by numbers of small groups, all indicate here tonight that the trial of John S. Williams Tuesday will be one of the hardest fought and most interesting in Georgia history.

The discovery of eleven negro bodies in the vicinity of John Williams' farm created a sensation throughout the country, and the steady accumulation of evidence against the owner and his three boys has proceeded amidst much excitement that will tomorrow reach its climax when Williams faces a court of justice and the selection of a jury of twelve is begun.

Important Conference. Solicitor A. M. Brand, of the Stone Mountain circuit, who will direct the prosecution against Williams; Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright and ex-Congressman W. M. Howard, of Augusta, associated with the prosecutor, held an important conference here to-

night after discussing the case in Atlanta during the morning. The last conference was held after Mr. Howard had heard Clyde Manning the negro whose confession implicated Williams in the murders, repeat once again his story of the killings.

Green E. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, was in conference here with W. H. Key and C. C. King, who will be associated with him. Sunday a large number of witnesses were questioned, the scene of the murders visited, while the same procedure was repeated today. Mr. Johnson tonight declined to state whether or not he would announce ready for trial when Williams' case is called Tuesday.

Defense for Negro. E. Marvin Underwood, who has been selected to represent Clyde Manning, the negro jointly indicted with Williams upon charge of murder, announced here tonight, for the first time, his line of procedure in the case. He will, he says, base his case upon Manning's plea that he committed the homicides under fear of death.

Mr. Underwood says that the only question upon which the jury will be called upon to pass, will be whether or not Manning did, in fact, kill the other negroes under fear of death.

If they decide that he committed the homicides under these circumstances, Mr. Underwood said, the negro will be acquitted of the charge against him.

W. Woods White, an Atlanta capitalist, who is leading the committee from Atlanta to see that the negro is given a fair trial, states that Mr. Underwood will be given local counsel to assist him, and that the lawyer will announce the name of his assistant tomorrow or Wednesday. Mr. Underwood has had several conferences with Manning, who will be brought here Tuesday morning for the trial.

One hundred men have been summoned by Judge Hutcheson, and it is expected that the greater part of Tuesday's session will be spent in selecting a jury. Should the first list be exhausted and the jury still be incomplete, another hundred men will be immediately summoned and the striking continued.

Witnesses Are Held. Included in the number of material witnesses seized in the raid by federal agents of the Williams farm last Saturday night were Gladys and Julius Manning, brothers of Clyde Manning, star witness of the state, and Emma Freeman, cook in the home of Huland Williams and wife of Clyde Freeman, another state witness, who has been held in the Fulton tower. In addition to these witnesses, Endine Manning, Clyde Manning's aged mother was brought to Covington and will be placed on the stand during the trial.

The old negroess had asked to be taken away, stating that she was "skeered nearly to death." Her uneasiness may be well understood when it is known that in addition to hearing her son's confession, she has the memory of her husband's sudden and mysterious death on Williams' plantation several years ago. All that is known of his death is that he was killed with a shot gun from ambush, as he was returning home after his day's work.

All six members of the Manning family have now been brought out of Jasper county by federal authorities. They are Endine, the mother, Clyde, Gladys, the sons; Grace Manning Johnson, their sister and Rena Clyde's wife, who for ten or more years has been cook in the home of John Williams, while her husband has been "boss negro" at the plantation. On the so-called "lower place" worked by Huland Williams, Clyde and Emma Free-

man seem to have occupied similar positions.

Claims There was Stockade. There is now no doubt that a stockade existed on the Williams farm, and that negroes were made to sleep in it at night, according to a statement to The Constitution to-night by a federal deputy who led the last raid on the farm. He described it as a small red house standing only a few feet from Huland Williams' home. It was close to this building that the body of "Big John" was found a week ago Friday, in the unfinished well, which according to Clyde Manning's confession, he had been digging, when knocked in the head and buried just as he fell.

Near the stockade was found the spade mattock and the blood-stained ax, which Manning told the posse he had set there after the murder and hasty burial, it is claimed. The federal agents asserted that a small house with one door and one window, near the home of John Williams had been used for similar purposes. Dr. Gus Williams stated to The Constitution last Wednesday that no such stockade ever existed on the farm. The authorities declared that they had evidence that a number of negroes had been kept there at night, and that Clyde Manning kept the key to the door and acted as guard.

Urges Federal Probe. Washington, April 4.—A department of justice investigation of alleged negro peonage in Jasper county, Georgia, and other sections of the south, was urged upon President Harding today by James W. Johnson, a negro of New York, who is secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Johnson also asked that the president recommend legislation at the special session of congress to stop lynching.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION WILL CONTINUE RAPIDLY.

The far-reaching investigation of the federal grand jury into the alleged peonage conditions in Jasper county will continue just as rapidly as is possible, without regard for the trial now in progress in the state courts at Covington, according to District Attorney Hooper Alexander.

It had been stated that the grand jury would continue its investigation until the trial in the state courts had been dispensed with, but he said Monday that no instructions had been received on that score. Indictments are being sought against John S. Williams, proprietor of the famous "murder farm," in Jasper county; Huland Williams, his son; J. W. Blackwell, a farmer replaced on a rural route a few miles from Monticello, and others in the vicinity.

The evidence of the government was presented to the grand jurors Monday by David J. Meyerhardt, assistant district attorney, but only a few of the fifteen witnesses who had been summoned appeared before the jury. It is believed that sensational testimony was given the grand jury by Rena Manning, wife of the negro who recently made the sensational confession that he had killed eleven negroes under Williams' orders.

Other witnesses were agents of the federal department of justice, whose recent investigations have led to the disclosure of much sensational testimony in regard to conditions alleged to exist in the county. There are several negro "refugees," who also will tell their stories to the grand jurors.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions.

GOVERNOR DORSEY CALLS FOR ACTION IN MURDER CASE

Montgomery Advertiser 4/8/21 3/21/21

ATLANTA, GA., March 29.—Governor Dorsey requested late today that the three sons of John S. Williams be indicted in connection with the wholesale killings of negro farm hands on the Williams' plantation in Jasper county and at the same time despatches from Covington announced that the grand jury there was inquiring into reports that the three sons of the planter had been instigators of false reports of a negro "uprising" in that section. One white man is being held in connection with the inquiry but officials at Covington declined to make public his name.

The elder Williams and Clyde Manning, a negro foreman on his plantation already are under indictments charging murder in Newton county where Manning told officials they carried three negroes and drowned them and Governor Dorsey stated tonight he had asked Judge John B. Hutcheson of that judicial circuit to set the trial of the two at "a very early date." Judge Hutcheson and Solicitor General A. M. Brand left for Atlanta today to confer with the Governor.

After a conference here late today with state officials and federal agents the latter being brought in because of alleged peonage conditions, which Manning declared resulted in killings, the governor requested Judge A. B. Park of the judicial circuit in which Jasper is located, to call the grand jury April 11 to make a general inquiry into conditions and to return indictments against Williams, his three sons and Manning.

State Attorney General Denny, Solicitor General Campbell of the judicial circuit in which Jasper county is situated and other state officials conferred with Governor Dorsey this afternoon and later it was said the governor would send the attorney general or the latter's assistant to aid in the Jasper county inquiry. It was put off until April 11 the governor said because the various officials wanted until that time to get ready for presenting evidence to the grand jury.

Judge Hutcheson said tonight he would issue on Wednesday the call for the grand jury on that date.

The grand jury investigation at Covington will continue tomorrow, it was said, and officials declared they had presented evidence today which they claimed showed that attempts had been made to put the blame for the deaths of the eleven negroes on other negroes, while reports that negroes were planning an "uprising" also were spread as part of an alleged plot to stir up sentiment against the negroes.

One man whom officials said, was to have taken part in the alleged plot, was prevented by his brothers from going into it, but false rumors of a gathering of negroes to attack the

white residents caused much alarm in Jasper, Newton and adjacent counties Monday.

Officials in Jasper and Newton county were said to be watching the situation carefully, fearing it possible that certain elements yet might start race trouble although Governor Dorsey has been assured by leading citizens that they deplore the situation and wish to aid in a thorough investigation.

Constitution 4/8/21

Evidence Submitted to Grand Jury That Three Boys and Others Were Responsible.

CHARGE PLOT TO HELP FATHER IN HIS TRIAL

Young Man Claims Bribe Was Offered Him Judge Park Calls Special Term of Court.

BY MARION KENDRICK.

Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., March 29.—(Special.)—A new and sensational development in the investigation here of the atrocious murder of eleven negroes on the John S. Williams plantation and in adjacent rivers, was revealed late today, when evidence was submitted to the Newton county grand jury to the effect that the three Williams boys and others were responsible for the conspiracy to arraign the white people here against the blacks, and that efforts had been made to secure perjured testimony in behalf of the prominent planter under indictment for murder.

Behind the bars of the Newton county jail tonight, a young man, whose name officials refused to make public, is being closely guarded, and it is his testimony before the grand jury Tuesday, which attacks Julius, Huland and Marvin Williams, charging them with attempting to bribe him to testify that on a certain night several weeks ago, he saw a car of negro occupants on Allen's bridge over the Yellow river, and that on closer examination he discovered two dead blacks.

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

The Alleged Plot.

It was a part of the plot, officials stated, for the man to enter Jasper county to start a rumor of seeing the dead bodies thrown into the river by the negroes, and then signing affidavits at Monticello to this effect. All this was to be done letters were to be sent to farmer telling them to "look out for the negroes wiping out the whites, and runners were to be dispatched in several directions, crying that the colored people were gathering to start a racial war, it is alleged.

In addition to all this, it is reliably stated, a letter has been found which was sent to the man who was to take the leading part in the conspiracy, instructing him to meet Huland Williams at a certain place, to be informed of the details of the conspiracy. The man met the Williams boys, according to the alleged confession of the prisoner, and was promised \$500 if he succeeded in carrying out his instructions.

Alleged Plot Balked.

When the young man started to Jasper county last Sunday, his brothers learned of the alleged plot and caught him before he had succeeded in carrying out any part of the instructions. He was immediately brought to Covington, where he was lodged in jail, and has made full confession to authorities, it is asserted, which involves not only the three sons of Williams, but several other farmers said to be intimate his friends.

With the foiling of this alleged plot, which, if it had proven successful, would have greatly aided Williams' defense against the murder charges, it was pointed out, officials here were fully informed of the details, but the wild rumors of a negro uprising started Sunday night, resulted in much excitement. It was not until 3 o'clock Monday morning that many white people who fled from their homes when warned of the danger, were informed that the reports were false.

Officials here are veiling their investigations with the greatest secrecy, but it was authoritatively earned tonight that other testimony concerning the alleged conspiracy will be given before the grand jury Wednesday, and several indictments are expected to be returned before nightfall.

Promises Co-operation.

Following the announcement ere tonight that Governor Hugh L. Dorsey had authorized Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright to take charge of the prosecution of the murder cases in Jasper county and seek indictments for

murder against Williams and his three sons on April 11, when a special term of the superior court is convened, Solicitor A. M. Brand declared that he would co-operate with state officials, but that Williams would first be placed on trial in the Newton county superior court within the next three weeks.

Both Judge John H. Hutcheson and the solicitor went to Atlanta tonight to hold a conference with the chief executive. When Judge Hutcheson returned to his home in Jonesboro, he informed The Constitution that during the conference a complete discussion of the cases against Williams and Manning and the question of the date of the special term of the Newton county superior court occurred. He declared, however, that owing to engagements covering the next two weeks, it was impossible to decide when the call would be issued, but that the trial will be held at an early date.

This announcement and the result of the conference in Atlanta today between Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit, federal agents, Attorney-General R. A. Denny, Mr. Wright and the chief executive, indicates that the prosecutors' program has been arranged to cause united action in both Jasper and Newton county.

Await Action by July.

The action taken by the grand jury in the latter county on the testimony submitted by the assistant attorney-general is being awaited with much interest, for it is believed the real sentiment of the people there will then be evidenced. Judge Park declared over long distance telephone from Sparta tonight that he would Wednesday call the special term of court in Jasper county as the governor had requested.

It was suggested by the governor in his telegram, Judge Park said, not to call the grand jury until April 11 "because it would take that much time to prepare, and not later for reasons that to us are entirely satisfactory and which cannot be explained in a message."

While no official announcement has been made, it has been intimated that further startling disclosures will be made in the peonage and murder cases; that other counties besides Jasper will be included in charges, and that if Williams is indicted in Jasper, efforts will be made to secure a change of venue. Atlanta, Macon and Covington are being mentioned as the probable places for the trials.

Solicitor Campbell declared following his conference Tuesday with Governor Dorsey that he wished it distinctly understood that there was in his relations with the defendant Williams nothing which would cause him embarrassment in the prosecution of the planter.

"I resent the implication," he said, "that I was holding back because it would embarrass me to prosecute Williams. He owes me money, it is true, but it was I who made known that fact. I had a little to loan, and he wanted to borrow some. We traded, and he gave

me ample security. That's all there is to it."

Williams is still held in the Fulton county jail, where he has refused to make any further statement since his denial of guilt given to The Constitution Friday afternoon. It was reported here tonight that the three Williams boys had fled from their home, but no verification of the rumor could be obtained.

PLEA OF MANNING TO BE 'NOT GUILTY'

Underwood Plans to Save Negro's Life on Grounds That Crime Was Committed in Fear of Death.

Constitution 4/8/21

BY MARVIN KENDRICK.

Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 7.—(Special.)—Declaring that Clyde Manning, the state's star witness against John S. Williams, on trial here for murder, will claim that he killed several of the negroes in the vicinity of the Jasper farm, at the instructions of Williams, and that his life was threatened if he disobeyed, E. Marvin Underwood, chief counsel for the negro, announced here tonight that a plea of "not guilty" will be made when his client faces the court.

Owing to the fact that Judge John B. Hutcheson is still engaged in the trial of Williams in connection with the killings, and has been conducting continuous sessions of court for a number of weeks, it is not known when Manning will be placed on trial. The judge is scheduled to hold court in DeKalb county next week, but it has been reported that this session will probably be cancelled.

Mr. Underwood stated that he was ready to go to trial at any time since he has become thoroughly familiar with the case while attending all sessions of the Newton superior court this week.

Brand to Prosecute.

Solicitor-General A. M. Brand however, has not decided when he will call the case, but it is understood he will hold a conference with Judge Hutcheson Friday or Saturday to decide on a date.

In reply to intimations that he would not prosecute the cases of murder against Manning, who is jointly indicted with Williams, Solicitor Brand stated positively tonight that he would fight all moves to free the negro, and would do all in his power to convict him. Manning's case will be based on a section of the Georgia law which states that anyone committing a crime under fear of death, shall not be guilty. Since he first confessed, Manning has maintained that Williams forced him to kill the negroes. "We do not expect the trial to last long," said Mr. Underwood.

Leading Legal Characters in "Murder Farm" Trial

Constitution 4/8/27



Photo by Price.

1, Greene F. Johnson, who leads defense for John S. Williams in murder trial in Covington, Ga.; 2, Judge John B. Hutcherson, who is presiding; 3, W. M. Howard, of Augusta, who is assisting the state; 4, Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, who is conducting state's case; 5, Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of Newton county; 6, Graham Wright, assistant attorney-general, who is assisting state.

**Southern Race Savagery
Punishing Itself**

Constitution 4/14/21
(From The Pittsburg Press.)

The heartlessness of the peonage conditions in the south speaks for itself. The revelations in the trial of John S. Williams, the Georgia farmer indicted for the murder of eleven negroes whom he had taken out of jail by virtue of paying their fines and whom he is accused of having either drowned or buried alive in order to prevent their being witnesses against him in the peonage investigation, form a blacker page in our national history than anything that could truthfully be written of "darkest Africa."

How much of this astounding savagery is constantly going on not only in Georgia but in the southern states in general can only be guessed at. All that is known is that it is so prevalent as to be driving the colored people of the south to northern states literally in droves.

What the lazy whites of the south will do when they have but this process so depleted their labor supply that they can no longer maintain their industries is an enigma. They can, of course, depend to a certain extent on children; their mills even now are full of them. But a way has been found of using federal legislative power to deprive them of this resource, and it is clear that the enlightened public sentiment which has been developed in the rest of the country on this subject will eventually force the southern whites to go to work themselves or hopelessly lag behind in the race for that wealth and material prosperity which they so frankly covet.

If considerations of ordinary humanity do not move them to take their new slave-owners in hand and curb their barbarity, perhaps they will be driven to it by a realization that they are killing the goose which laid the golden egg, in the sense that most of their negro labor will have fled north of the Mason and Dixon line.

INTEMPERATE! 4/6/21
"Southern Race Savagery Punishing Itself," is the caption of an editorial attack upon the south appearing in a recent issue of The

Pittsburg Press. We reproduce it in another column of this page.

The editorial was sent to us by a former Georgian, now residing at Donora, Pa., who subscribes himself as "a southerner in the north."

"I am writing you," says our correspondent, "to bring to your attention the enclosed editorial appearing in today's issue of The

Pittsburg Press, which I consider a direct insult to the south and the southern people." He requests The Constitution to "answer the Press' attack in the way it should be answered."

The verdict in the case of the state vs. John S. Williams is the best answer to such criticisms as that of The Pittsburg Press.

The Jasper county grand jury indictments that have subsequently been returned against the Williams family is also an answer.

The attitude of public sentiment over Georgia is another answer!

To excoriate a whole people because of an exceptional crime committed by an individual or a small group of individuals is neither fair nor just.

The implication of such a criticism as that of The Press is that the people of the south are savages.

There is not a day that the Pittsburg newspapers do not carry in their columns stories of nearby crimes committed, which might as well involve the civilization of the state of Pennsylvania as the William atrocity involves that of Georgia.

For instance: A few years ago a negro gardener, honest, faithful, law-abiding, who had been employed for years by a prominent citizen of Atlanta, went to Pittsburg, lured by the high wages then being paid for labor in the steel industry.

Periodically, for months, his former employer heard from him. Then his letters stopped coming, and it was later developed that the negro had been killed like a dog by assassins, who made their escape after robbing him. They were never apprehended.

The Constitution would have as much justification for citing this case as proof of the "savagery" and "barbarity" of the people of Pennsylvania as The Pittsburg Press has in damning the people of the south.

But we know the people of Pennsylvania and of the north do not condone the crimes being committed there—some of them just as horrible as crimes occurring here.

We are fair and just enough to say so.

If the newspapers of the north, like The Pittsburg Press, manifested a similar spirit of fairness toward the south instead of viciously indicting a whole people for isolated crimes, profoundly condemned by our people, their criticism would have greater weight, and the effect in behalf of the public welfare would be better than when characterized by such intemperate comment as that quoted.

THE WILLIAMS VERDICT

Supreme Circle 4/14/21
A Newton County jury found John S. Williams guilty of the murder of Lindsey Peterson, a negro who had been in Williams' employ. Peterson was one of eleven negroes who disappeared, and whom Williams is alleged to have been instrumental in putting out of the way in Newton and Jasper counties. The bodies of eight of the eleven were recovered by officers from shallow graves on the Williams plantation an dfrom nearby rivers.

One is led to speculate on this verdict because it does not send to the gallows a man who is declared to be guilty. Public opinion inclines very strongly to the belief that the convicted man is guilty of the murders, and the evidence appears to have convinced the jury. But why recommend to mercy a man adjudged guilty of as brutal crimes as those charged against this North Georgia planter? If he is guilty hanging is too good for him, but if there remains a reasonable doubt of his guilt, sending him to prison for life cannot be justified on any ground.

However, these are questions for courts to deal with and dispose of, and though newspapers have a perfect right to discuss them, they must be passed upon finally by judges and perhaps other juries.

The verdict in this celebrated case probably belongs in the rather large class of "compromise verdicts" which juries arrive at. There were men among the twelve who had doubts as to the credibility of some of the evidence brought forward by the State, and were unwilling to agree to a verdict carrying the death penalty. But the majority was unwilling to agree to call the crime less than murder, and after hours of discussion and argument the compromise verdict was agreed to. It was the best the jury could do, and, after all, we should not judge too harshly at this distance. For juries are human.—Editorial from Albany Herald.

THE VERDICT

Supreme Circle 4/6/21
The general public will search closely in its analysis of the outcome of the trial of John S. Williams on the charge of murdering one of a number of his farm hands who recently died in an unusual manner. No more atrocious and cold-blooded affair has ever

Justice at Work

Constitution 4/14/21
Following on the heels of the indictment, trial and conviction of John S. Williams, in Newton county, the other day, on a charge of murder in connection with the killing of eleven negroes, alleged to have been held in bondage on his farm, a grand jury yesterday convened in the adjoining county of Jasper to go more deeply into that and other recent criminal proceedings in that section.

In charging the grand jury to go to the very bottom in its investigation of crime conditions generally in Jasper county, in which the Williams "murder farm" lies in part, Judge James B. Park said—

"As the judge of this circuit and as the mouthpiece of the law, for the sake of the good name of the people of this county and for the sake of law and order, I charge you to leave no stone unturned to ferret out who is responsible for this deplorable state of affairs in our state and bring the guilty to trial, that our laws may be vindicated and the reputation of our state may be protected."

Judge Park specifically called the attention of the grand jury to the recent lynching of Eugene Hamilton, in Jasper county, reminding the jurors that Hamilton had been tried and convicted of assault with intent to murder, and sentenced by Judge Park to the maximum prison term "authorized by law;" and that while he was being held in jail pending his counsel's motion for a new trial, a mob took him from the custody of the sheriff and lynched him.

"There was neither rhyme nor reason for this unlawful act," said the judge in the course of his address to the jury—

"and your duty requires you to make due investigation into this crime, and if the evidence authorizes indictments or special presentments, your duty also requires you to see that the guilty parties are brought to trial. . . ."

With reference to lynching and mob law in general, Judge Park continued—

"The members of the great Anglo-Saxon race in a republican form of government like we enjoy cannot afford for their own safety to see our laws trampled upon by the lawless element. If we do the inevitable re-

sults will lead to anarchy and no person's life will be safe; our material and religious prosperity and progress will decay, and we will become a byword among the civilized nations of the earth and our democratic form of government, instead of being respected, will be a reproach throughout the entire world and instead of being regarded as 'the land of the free and the home of the brave,' we will be in the estimation of other nations as weak and without the inherent power of protecting our citizens.

"We have reached the point where, unless the spirit of lawlessness is checked by our courts, juries and the law-abiding people, we will be shunned by the best class of people, and capital will refuse to come among us to develop our natural, our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial enterprises.

"It matters not how sincere the judges of our courts may be to see the laws enforced, this cannot be done except with the cordial cooperation of the juries and all good people in every county of the state."

Instead of overstating, Judge Park understates the gravity of the mob law menace.

Not only will we "become a byword among the civilized nations of the earth," unless mob law is stamped out; and not only will capital "refuse to come among us" unless we demonstrate that we are a law-abiding, law-respecting community, but if the state does not put an end to mob violence and lynch law, it is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun that sooner or later the federal government will intervene and stop it for us!

What disgraces one state disgraces the nation in the eyes of the world; and it is too much for Georgia to expect the federal government to keep hands off a condition which, as Judge Park aptly says, is bound to bring America into reproach throughout the world.

By the orderly, expeditious and precise manner in which the court and the good people of Newton county disposed of that county's part in the "murder farm" case they have set a splendid example to their neighbors of Jasper county, just across the line

(FROM OVER)

happened in our knowledge, within the confines of this State. The man on trial was either guilty or not guilty. The jury, after hearing the testimony and considering the evidence, decided he was guilty. Why he was recommended for life sentence instead of the death penalty, which appears to be the logical punishment for such criminal brutality as has been depicted, is doubtless puzzling many a Georgian today. Even the legal fraternity is probably amazed.

All that we would effect to do would be to attempt in some measure an analysis of the verdict. It is not exactly within the province of the press to criticize the decisions of juries, or hold up such a question. At least, not the daily press. The jury is accorded every advantage possible in examining both sides of a case, and is called upon by the court to give under oath its unbiased and honorable decision as to what should be done under the given and pictured circumstances.

It might be the privilege and even the duty of the press, however, to attempt a statement as to how or why a jury's verdict was reached, if this can be done without an appearance of trying to influence future juries that might be called on to stand in judgment of the same defendant.

The old maxim is naturally brought to the mind of the conscientious and indignant Georgian that "if a murderer is guilty he should be hung, if innocent turned loose." There does not seem to be any half-way house. How was it, then, that the jury decided upon a life sentence in this case instead of capital punishment that under a verdict of guilty would appear to have been merited?

By way of possible explanation it might be set forth that the fact that the principal witness for the prosecution was a man who himself had by his own confession taken part in the crime and that no white witness for the prosecution was able to testify directly in regard to the killing itself, may not have created any noticeable doubt in the minds of the jurymen that Williams was guilty, but it could have caused some of them to observe a possibility that Williams might be innocent even though there were no doubt in their minds. This is a hair-line distinction, but a potent one.

The Frank case was based upon somewhat the same general lines. The principal witness for the prosecution was a man who had participated to an extent in the crime, and no white witness for the prosecution was able to testify directly in regard to the killing itself. The case against Williams, however, appears to be stronger, in that the motive for the crime seems to lie more certainly with the white man and less with the negro than in the Frank case.

Race prejudice was used to advantage by the counsel for the defense. The jurymen were asked how they

would like to meet one of the defendant's children in after years knowing that they had helped hang his or her father upon the word of a confessed Negro criminal. The jurymen who were opposed to capital punishment may have been affected by this, or they may have possessed predilections in regard to Williams.

Only with such a line of reasoning can an analysis of the verdict be approached. The affair must, however, be thoroughly and searchingly analyzed, for the State of Georgia itself is on trial in this matter, and only in case it is handled much more fearlessly and conscientiously than such affairs have been handled in Georgia in the past, can the greatly needed regeneration come to our commonwealth and the brand of crime not be placed upon the whole people of Georgia rather than upon two or three individuals.—Editorial from Macon Telegraph.

~~Atlanta Constitution~~ A JOB FOR THE COURTS!

A negro confined "for safe-keeping" in the Fulton county Tower has uttered a public confession of compounded, cold-blooded murder that is so astounding as to be almost unbelievable.

He says that, at the orders of, and with the assistance of, his employer, he killed eleven members of his own race who were held in peonage by his employer.

Four of the negroes, this self-confessed murderer says, he 'knocked in the head with an ax in one week and buried them in a pasture back of Mr. Williams' house."

Six of them, he said, he and his employer bound with ropes, and, weighting them with rocks, threw them into the river to drown, several of the bodies having subsequently been discovered.

It is an alleged statement of fact that, in point of sheer fiendishness and revolting brutality, rivals a Bluebeard romance!

The white man, likewise in jail, who is implicated in this astounding confession, denies guilt, saying the negro's gruesome recital is pure fabrication from beginning to end.

There can be no doubt, however, that wholesale murder has been committed.

Bodies that have been recovered from the Yellow river afford irrefutable proof of that fact.

It is now for the courts to sift this matter to the very bottom and ascertain exactly where the guilt lies.

That established, justice must be applied without hesitation; for the decent public sentiment of Georgia will not permit a thing of this kind to go unnoticed. It will insist that whoever is guilty, either as principal or as accessory, of such atrocious criminality shall feel the full force of the law.

The truth will, of course, be established in due time and by process of law.

Nothing should be left undone to that end.

~~Atlanta Constitution~~

DEVELOPMENTS IN PEONAGE CASE. 4/28/21

The most important developments in the Jasper county peonage murder case Sunday are briefly summarized as follows:

The bodies of John Brown and "Little Bit," bound together and weighted with a heavy iron wheel, were found in the Alcovy river at noon Sunday. The total number of corpses discovered on and near the John Williams plantation Saturday and Sunday is now eight, bringing the total for the month to eleven.

The eight bodies were interred at the Jasper county pauper's farm, and the coroner's jury returned a verdict to the effect that the negroes came to their death at the hands of Clyde Manning, the negro who confessed and led authorities to the grave, with Williams as an accessory.

Solicitor Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit, requested Governor Dorsey to send Attorney-General R. A. Denny to Monticello to aid in the prosecution of the investigation, and issued a statement denying anything improper or illegal in his business relations with Williams.

Judge J. B. Park announced he would call a special term of the Jasper county superior court and grand jury to make a complete investigation of conditions in the county, after holding a conference with the governor Sunday.

Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of Newton county, announced he would request Judge John B. Hutcheson to either prolong or call an extra session of the Newton county superior court.

Governor Dorsey declared that the three Williams boys would be arrested, warrants charging them with murder having been issued.

A note signed by a negro warning Will Cook, a white man residing near Covington, "to look out for the niggers," was found by Cook on his porch Saturday morning.

Labor Conditions

AMERICA HAS TWO YARDSTICKS

There is no such thing as equal and exact justice for the colored man in the courts of the United States, and the peonage case in Georgia is a proof of it.

From time to time colored lawyers, afraid of their legal shadows, and palpably attempting to curry favor with white judges have maintained in the press and in public addresses that the courts of the United States were fair in the administration of justice. We repeat that the courts of the United States are not fair, that they are positively unfair, and as proof of this assertion, we hold up the Williams case.

Here is a white man indicted by the grand jury of Jasper County, Georgia for killing of thirteen colored men held as slaves on his farm. In a trial that lasted several days, and in which testimony of one eyewitness and many agents of the Department of Justice wove around him an unbreakable web of guilt, Williams, refused to be questioned, refused to make any statement, except "I am innocent, it is a question of my word against that of a 'nigger's'."

In spite of this characteristic cracker attitude, the jury of all white men found Williams guilty, and unless he is allowed a motion for a new trial, he will be sentenced to life imprisonment. Note this:

HERE IS A WHITE MAN, FOUND GUILTY OF MURDERING A NEGRO, WHOM HE HELD AS A SLAVE, IN DEFIANCE OF THE LAWS OF THE LAND, BY TYING A SACK OF ROCKS AROUND HIS BODY AND THROWING IT INTO THE YELLOW RIVER. Can any one imagine what this same all white jury would have done to a colored man who had held a white man in slavery and afterwards killed him by drowning. For the benefit of those whose imagination is poor here is what would have happened in Jasper County.

DAILY PAPERS HAVING ANNOUNCED THAT A MOB WAS FORMING TO LYNCH THE MURDERER; SEVERAL HUNDRED UNMASKED WHITE MEN WOULD FORM IN FRONT OF THE COURT HOUSE, AND WITH THE POLICE ASSISTING, AND THE COURTS POWERLESS (?) THIS NEGRO WOULD BE TAKEN TO THE FRONT OF THE COURT HOUSE, TIED TO A HITCHING POST, BURNED TO DEATH, AND HIS BODY RIDDLED WITH BULLETS.

This Williams case represents no isolated happening. Bets of two to one were made by "crackers" in Jasper County before the trial that the state would never hang a white man for killing a Negro.

So long as a Negro is barred from our courts except as a criminal or as a lawyer, there is no way for him to get a square deal. Right here in Maryland two colored men have been hung this year for murder on circumstantial evidence, and then CLARENCE AND GRACE COUTRON, both white, ARE CONVICTED OF THE MURDER OF TWO COLORED MEN, WERE THEY HUNG? THEY WERE NOT.

THEY WERE SENTENCED TO PRISON FOR A LIMITED TIME, AND IN A FEW YEARS WILL PROBABLY BE PARDONED TO WALK THE STREETS LIKE THE REST OF US.

Right here in Baltimore, a white man is fined by a judge \$2 for shooting craps. A colored man before the same magistrate the same week pays \$5.

From the slightest infraction of the law up to murder or arson, the lawbreaker, who happens to be black gets the longer sentence.

The Williams case ought to burn it into the soul of every Negro in the United States, that until the time comes that he can sit on the bench as a judge, until the time comes that HE CAN TAKE HIS PLACES IN THE JURY BOX AS A TALESMAN, until the time comes

that he can be eligible to play some part in the police powers of the state, the administration of justice in the United States, North and South, is a travesty, an insult to any intelligence, a sin before God and man.

THE ANTI-NEGRO OFFICE HOLDING PROPAGANDA

Headed - Commonwealth 3/6/21

The Democratic party, dominated by the South, lost the election but, as usual, are endeavoring to turn defeat at the polls into victory in shaping the policy of the Harding Administration toward Negroes.

The vigorous anti-Negro propaganda led by the Baltimore Sun, and pig-tracked by the Southern dailies, grows in intensity and volume and no effort or energy is spared in endeavoring to force the President into an utterance or an act that can be construed as an indorsement of the Southern attitude towards the Negro and its treatment of him.

The Southern women in a Bureau in the Treasury Department at Washington over which it is believed a Negro may be appointed as its head, have been inspired to raise the color line in protest against the probable appointment of a Negro. Thrusting white women into the breach to cut off the Negro is a shrewd move; the white woman is the final trump card of the Southern white man; through charging hideous crimes against her upon the Negro, the South has lynched its way into the approval or acquiescence of the people of the United States in destroying the political rights of the Negro and reducing him to a condition of semi-slavery throughout that section. Every other subterfuge having failed the white woman is now put forward to force the President and the department heads to yield to the South's demand that the Negro be excluded from office-holding and thus his disfranchisement in the South receive practical indorsement, and the South be given free rein in dealing with the Negro. If a Negro is excluded from one office upon the ground of color he will be excluded from others and from all upon the same ground. If the propaganda protest ever reaches him we do not believe President Harding will consider it; he has so far refused to lend himself by word or deed to the indorsement of any principle which involves the exclusion of any element of American citizens from rights and privileges enjoyed by all other citizens.

The harvest of lynching and burning, of murders single and wholesale producing the Georgia monster Williams, the legislative oppression and lawless oppression of Negroes reaped during and following the Wilson Administration saturated with Southern sentiment and approving and indorsing Southern treatment of the Negro proves beyond question that the general government cannot indorse or even tacitly approve of injustice by one por-

tion of its citizens to another without imperiling its own existence, and the nation's civilization.

The question of who shall hold the position of Register of the Treasury or any other office is unimportant, but the principle that a citizen shall not hold it because of his color is infamous.

Slavery In Georgia In 1921

Herbert J. Seligmann in the current issue of **THE NATION**

Afro-American
4/22/21

One night in Atlanta, just before John Williams was put on trial on a charge of murdering Negro peons on his farm in Jasper County, I sat listening to the story of Addison Fuller, an old colored farmer. He had fled to the city leaving behind wife and children and all possessions. He had come after a deliberate attempt had been made to enslave him, to force him, after imprisonment and brutal beating, to work off an entirely fictitious debt to a white planter; and after a white man had tried to seduce his wife. The story came out slowly. We were sitting on the verandah of a house near Atlanta University. Overhead were starlit skies. Across the street in a frame house colored people were dancing to a phonograph. We were in an American city, in the midst of American civilization, and the story this slave told in soft tones, without bitterness, seemed all the stranger for the popular dance tunes which accompanied it from across the street.

There had been a brutal beating. Fuller was caught as he tried to release his children from the captivity he had escaped. The white planter who enslaved Addison Fuller told the sheriff after the capture that he "wanted that damn nigger whipped," and so one white man held Fuller's feet, another man held up his clothes, and the planter stood over him with a drawn knife. All this is an affidavit submitted to the United States Attorney in Atlanta; but not that the sheriff beat him with a leather buggy trace until he was wet with perspiration and then took off his coat saying that he had not half begun the whipping.

Peonage General in Jasper County

It was almost an unbelievable tale this gentle-voiced old dark man was telling. But it is not an exceptional one. White men in Newton County freely admitted that peonage was general in Jasper County. And an officer of the United States Government out of his own detailed and accurate information told me that the terrible murder cases in Jasper County differed not in kind, only in the number of victims, from Negro slavery practiced throughout rural Georgia. Later I heard white men, in speaking of paying fines of Negroes convicted of petty offenses, refer to the transaction as "buying niggers;" for the Negro so released from labor on the chain gang is expected to work off the amount of the fine and as much more as his white boss can make him. This was the situation of many of the Negroes on the farm of John Williams. It is at this moment the situation of many Negroes throughout the State of Georgia.

White men stand together in Georgia. Their ascendancy is maintained by force. To them the Negro is a source of labor. There are many instances of benevolent paternalism. But in any full sense the Negro is not considered a human being. If a crime is committed against a Negro it is practically impossible to prove it; unless it assumes the dimensions of the wholesale murders practiced in Jasper County.

Sheriff Himself Kept Slaves

A Negro's sworn testimony will not stand against a white man's sworn and unsupported assertion. The sheriff of Jasper County, who might have been expected to proceed against the owner of the "murder farm," was himself under indictment in the Federal court, charged with the crime of peonage, at the time the murder trial began. It was a matter of common gossip that the planter, John Williams, who was accused of having instigated and committed the murder of his peons, had had financial dealings with the solicitor who was charged with prosecuting him. It was also a matter of common knowledge that, in defiance of the law of Georgia, a law which is set at defiance every day by thousands of Georgians,

many citizens of Williams' county would be present, fully armed, in Covington during the trial.

Lynched For Debts

A story which illustrates the difficulty of convicting white men of peonage was told to me by an officer of the United States Government, from his own exact knowledge, as follows: In December of 1920 a Negro farmer found himself penniless, his crop seized by his landlord against a debt the landlord claimed was due. The Negro escaped to another county and took new employment. He was pursued with warrants on charges of swindling and cheating. This is an expedient often employed against Negro peons who escape. The Negro was convicted, but his fine was paid by a white man for whom he went to work. The first employer then sought out the new one and claimed the Negro owed him money. The new employer agreed to liquidate the debt, but before he could do so the Negro was seized at night, carried a mile from his cabin, tied to a tree, and shot. The body was in plain view next day. There is no reasonable doubt as to who perpetrated the crime.

Governor Dorsey Knew of Peonage

From a white Georgian who attended the meeting I learned how the Governor of the State, within the month, had met a group of representative citizens and had told them of twenty or thirty cases of peonage of his own knowledge. The few white men who burn with shame and anger at the conditions which they know to exist feel stifled in their own State, they have no means of speaking out. There is no liberal press in Georgia, no magazines not devoted to sensational news, as there are in New York. The newspapers of Georgia are afraid, not of physical violence, but of loss of patronage if they tell the truth. On the other hand they do not scruple to create mobs. One newspaper brought about the Atlanta riot of 1907. The Georgia newspapers lynched Leo Frank.

Colored Porter Carries Winchester

It is idle to advise or warn white Georgians. But they are preparing for themselves a terrible day of reckoning. They do not realize the spirit they are breeding among colored people. The Negro Pullman porter on the train coming North gave more than a hint of that feeling in Atlanta. He and all his housemates are armed with Winchester rifles. They have been made bitter. They intend to use their rifles if they have to defend themselves. He said to me: "It is bad to have to live in such a state of suspense, not knowing when the storm may break, when you may have to fight for your life."

MARYLAND AND GEORGIA

Afro-American 4/22/21

With righteous wrath and indignation, the white dailies of the state excoriated the ignorance and the brutality of the Georgia whites involved in the murder of thirteen colored men held as slaves on the Williams farm.

Since the beginning of the case two weeks ago, hardly one single white newspaper in Maryland has been able to refrain from expressing its pity that the backward South had fallen so low. These newspapers even went further. They expressed satisfaction that the Department of Justice and the state of Georgia meant to get to the bottom of the affair and punish the murderers.

AND THEN.

Last Tuesday a crowd of whites, most of whom are known to the police authorities

expressed their dissatisfaction over the refusal of a Frederick Court to condemn a man to death for crime of which it (the court) had found him innocent, by mobbing the prisoner before he left the courtroom, throwing missiles at the judges, and chasing the police, prisoner, lawyers and colored spectators out of town. In high powered autos this MARYLAND MOB followed lawyers, spectators and prisoner for twenty miles, and the only thing that avoided a lynching was that the darkness handicapped the pursuers.

IT MIGHT BE EXPECTED THAT OUR LAW AND ORDER LOVING WHITE PRESS WOULD STAND UP AND SAY A WORD AGAINST MOB VIOLENCE IN MARYLAND, OR IMPORTUNE THE COURTS AND THE GOVERNOR TO PUNISH THE OFFENDERS. But they did no such thing. It is all RIGHT to condemn the faults of others 1000 miles away, but to condemn the faults of home folks would be UNTHINKABLE.

The Baltimore American declared that the Frederick would-be-lynchers took an UNFORTUNATE ATTITUDE IN DEFYING THE VERDICT OF THE JUDGES. The Cracker Sun deplores the fact that Dorsey should escape punishment if he is guilty, and unctiously adds EVERYONE IS GLAD THE OCCURRENCE LEFT NO LASTING STAIN UPON THE COUNTY OR STATE.

No thinking person appreciates the plea of the white newspapers for the punishment of Georgia mobs, when it has nothing to say about the punishment of Maryland mobs. Let us leave our neighbor his MOTE, and PLUCK the BEAM that is within OUR OWN EYE.

APPALLING MURDER PLOT

—SEATTLE AVANTI TIMES

MARCH 28, 1921

THE APPALLING MURDER PLOT exposed in the state of Georgia has few, if any, parallels in American criminal history.

Eleven negroes were assassinated to prevent their appearing at hearings into peonage charges, responsibility for their deaths being laid by a coroner's jury at the door of a white planter and his negro accomplices.

With cold-blooded ferocity, the slayers in some instances compelled the victims to dig their own graves. Others of the unfortunates were chained together after falling victims to the weapons of their assailants and flung into a river.

The confession of the chief accomplice of the planter furnished the authorities the information upon which they conducted an investigation, which resulted in the discovery of the bodies of the ill-fated negroes.

Justice should and undoubtedly will move swiftly in this frightful case. Every person, white or black, implicated in the affair in any way should mount the gallows as quickly as the machinery of legal prosecution will permit.

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions

SLAVERY IN GEORGIA

New York Times

The inhuman wholesale murder of Georgia's black convicts by the white farmer only serves to illustrate the barbarous system which exists throughout not only Georgia but Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi. The Department of Justice agents have just scratched the surface in unearthing this single case. Not only in the mines and on the farms but on the roads black men and women too, are worked under conditions that would disgrace Red Russia. The pen can not picture the bloody terrors and bestial brutality of the convict camps in these degenerate States. Black men are arrested, with or without pretext, in these Southern towns and villages when road work is to be done or when the convict labor grafters need laborers to carry out the mine, road and farm contracts. When they have "done their time" if they have survived the whippings and shotguns of the slave-driving overseers they are again arrested and given more time. Perhaps the most pitiful and barbarous picture in the entire convict slave labor system is the working of colored women in pants upon the roads of Georgia. Peonage and wage slavery in many forms abound throughout the Southern States. We can not believe that the Harding Administration will fail to go to the bottom of the shocking, bloody, convict slave and peonage system in the South. The Department of Justice should investigate the matter in every Southern State. It will find debauchery, persecution and murder of hundreds of thousands of black women and men that is keeping the South degraded and that is a damning disgrace to America and civilization.

IS GEORGIA CIVILIZED?

There has been a serious doubt in the minds of honest men as to whether Georgia is civilized. That is, the question has been uppermost in their minds as to whether the dominant race in that rebel ex-slave State was not sunk in a state of almost helpless savagery. The acts of fiendish, human sacrifice practiced on Roman holidays at some time or other by the majority of her regnant race, its general moral incest and unmoral race relations with the unlicensed master class forcing adultery with impunity upon the women of the serf class, its robbery of not only the human rights but the property, with or without pretext, of the subject class; its wanton and often wholesale massacre of the peons, not only on its peonage-slave plantations but as well in its metropolises, Atlanta; its beastly Jim Crow cars and segregation have properly placed Georgia in the minds of informed and candid men as a savage hinterland. With every bond of civilization broken down Georgia since legalized slavery as before has been sunk in the slough of her own despond. So complete has been her reversion to barbarism, so deep in the mire of outlawry and blood letting has Georgia become since the advent of Woodrow Wilson, one of her former citizens, to power in the nation that there has been no man so rash as to believe or predict that Georgia could ever save herself. There has been no man whose wish has not been father to the thought who believed for one instant that John S.

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

Williams, one of its leading and most wealthy citizens, who had either killed or had killed a dozen or more of the black peons he had secured from the State's prisons, could ever be convicted of their murder by a jury of his peers and sentenced for his crime. Yet this miracle has happened in Georgia. This strange evidence of civilization on her part, this new thing—of which Solomon said there is nothing under the Sun—for Georgia in its upholding of law and order, especially when the counsel for Williams appealed only and always to the prejudice of the cracker jury on the score of a "white man's word against that of a nigger," baffles analysis. It has been taken in some quarters as the dawning of a new day, as the sign of a returning civilization to Georgia. We do not share that optimism. Despite the vigilance of the agents of the Federal Department of Justice, despite the fear that this conviction has thrown into the hearts of the cowardly lynch fiends and ghoulish persecutors of the colored people, we shall be surprised if the insatiable and sotted Ku Klux of Georgia do not wreak for this a long and terrible vengeance against their helpless black neighbors. Yet for today we must rejoice at this great and singular victory of freedom against slavery, of right against wrong in the "Peach Tree State."

All patriotic men must rejoice that Georgia, both good and bad, has taken the gruesome tragedy so seriously to heart. All friends of civilization will read with renewed hope and faith the following special Associated Press dispatch from Atlanta:

The Atlanta committee on church co-operation, which has taken a position of leadership in the State in solving the Negro problem, issued a statement to-day immediately after the news of the Williams verdict was received. It said this case would wake the citizens of Georgia to the necessity of protecting the Negro.

It said the appointment of special counsel by Governor Dorsey and employment of an attorney to defend Manning was "Georgia's message to the Negro and to the world that this Christian State, whatever may have been conditions in the past in sore spots within her borders, will in the future do justice to the Negro."

In an editorial printed on its front page in black type this afternoon the Atlanta Georgian expressed the sentiment of nearly all the Georgia newspapers. It said in part:

"The sending of Williams to prison, the physical punishment of the man, means within itself alone relatively little. We may dismiss him personally as unimportant now. The great lesson and the great victory is far and beyond that."

"The overshadowing and compelling thing is the revindication of Georgia's dearest honor and nearest name. Georgia has renewed her sacred pledge to civilization."

The American people will applaud this sentiment. The American Government must do more: it must now help Georgia to help itself. The Department of Justice must multiply its number of agents in the State and follow up this victory by sending or help in sending all of its murdering, peon plantation owners and its lynching fiends to jail or the gallows. The Federal Department of Education should immediately see to it that a public school education is provided for all children, both white and black, of Georgia. This same program must be adopted for the other sunken Southern States. But if this is done in Georgia, as it now can be done, some generations hence Georgia will be civilized.

Negroes as Moonshiners Add to Georgia's Problems

MOONSHINING in the South, since it now is conducted by blacks as well as whites and on an unprecedented scale, looms as a big contributing factor to the conditions which have attracted nationwide attention, first through the Williams "murder farm" case and more recently through the presentation by Gov. Dorsey of Georgia of a long list of outrages purporting to show that persecution, enslavement and murder of negroes are widespread in that State.

How the illicit manufacture of whiskey is linked with laxity and graft in public office, peonage, increased racial bitterness, factional clashes among the whites themselves and a revival of night riding and threats of violence reminiscent of the days of the old Ku Klux Klan is told in the subjoined article written for THE NEW YORK HERALD by one who describes his actual observations in the moonshine districts of the South.

AMONG the startling events of the aftermath of the world war in the cotton States is the entry of the negroes into the distilling of whiskey—heretofore strictly the monopoly of the country-bred whites. From the close of the civil war to the passing of the Volstead act all the illicit distilling in the South was conducted with great skill and profits by the poorer type of the white farmers, mainly in the mountain country. They jealously guarded this monopoly, were so firmly established in it by the common approval of the entire community that men who have studied the case declare that they cannot recall a single prosecution of a negro for moonshining. Now the bulk of the arrests are made among black men. Of course, countless "stills" are now run by white men, but the prejudice against a colored man operating a still has vanished.

This extraordinary change has also brought to the fore in startling fashion the issue of "peonage," or holding black people in a sort of slavery to the whites of the farms. The Williams case at Covington, Ga., has brought nationwide attention to the evils of this system, as this case grew out of the murder of no less than eleven colored farmhands and resulted in the conviction of Williams, a white farmer of wealth and social prominence, of murder.

Along with the collapse of the price of cotton from 43 cents in July, 1920, to a bare 10 cents in January, 1921, an economical situation developed that involved a radical change of the social attitude toward the moonshiner by some of the best elements of the communities. Driven by debt, many of the best young white farmers "made a run" of whiskey to gain enough money to save their little holdings. They made no concealment of the facts; when arrested and jailed they were promptly bailed out by friends. Then public opinion divided into two camps; the old time Southern families denounced them as criminal and jailbirds and shunned them, but the younger element largely represented by the returned soldiers and women and girls who had been active war workers at home and overseas, stoutly defended the offenders. This has resulted in a widespread and entirely new line of social cleavage in a land where social position is a vital factor in daily life.

The high prices of cotton from 1916 to 1919 drew all white men to that work, then so very profitable, and gradually they passed the making of illicit whiskey into the hands of colored men, working under their direction or protection and patronage. Easy cotton money came at a time when negroes were wild with desire to spend their sudden fortunes, and whiskey and automobiles became the means.

The South does not produce cars, but it does make uncommonly strong drinks, mainly corn whiskey "wid er kick liken" er mule, fur shore," the darkies declare. When the country went bone dry the State prohibition laws were ignored and the State officers calmly stood aside and literally "gave it out around town" that as far as they were concerned people could set up stills and make money.

This was when cotton was high; as it fell, another story developed. State officials, in many cases, were complacent when only negroes were brought in for running stills. Many people charge that public officials joined in the "get rich quick" movement of distilling and became quasi-partners in the work.

A white storekeeper explains how he calculated, after prohibition became a national matter, that it was far better to have colored men operate his still than to run it himself. If an arrest was made, he would lose nothing, as he would promptly sign the negro's bond and not only escape arrest himself, but return his colored tenant to the farm deeper in debt to him to the amount of the bond. The practice has long been established to forfeit these bonds, declare the accused a fugitive from justice and collect the amount of the bond and court costs from the white bondsman and then shelve the whole case, unless the "fugitive" failed to "work it out" to the satisfaction of the bondsman.

Another white man explains that he has "seen the Sheriff and the Judge and fixed things up" so that stills on his farm will not be molested—unless ~~an~~ ^{an} agreed highness of whoever they may be down there. Thus the result is that the colored distiller operates openly, taking no pains to conceal his still, as is the case with the white moonshiner, relying on his agreements with his white boss to protect him.

Usually this plan worked greatly to the white man's financial gain and the darkie also made money, but many instances were noted wherein the negroes failed to deliver the agreed share of the whiskey and were promptly arrested by State officers, but their stills were never destroyed, for the true proprietor of the still had another negro ready to run it. Often the trip to the jail resulted in the arrested negro's obtaining his release by making good the missing whiskey and swearing to work honestly thereafter, so he was often back on the job, singing at his work, the very next day.

These arrests and bonding out operations are regarded by Southern white people as quite ordinary and by no means cases of "peonage" in the meaning of the United States laws.

Charges have been made that some white men abuse this system to such an extent that they have a regular scale of bond money that they will pay for the release of a wandering, non-family type of darky. The unattached young colored men fall easy vic-

times to the worst element of the white men, and of such were the eleven poor fellows done to death by axe and the waters of the Yellow River in the Williams case. Students of this system declare that a definite understanding exists between officers of city prisons and the county court houses to supply as many farmhands as their friends need upon request. It is obvious that their financial benefit from this traffic is satisfactory to them.

The clash of moonshine interests came ast fall when, with the price of cotton down and white landowners and storekeepers facing ruin, the negro distillers came into their own in a wholesale way. They needed only a hint to set up a still and in one small county 120 stills were known to be in operation last November. It was at this time, too, that the young white farmers who had set up and were operating their own stills had gotten their moonshining so well under way that prospects seemed bright for them to offset their cotton losses by liquor profits.

Here the trouble began, since the stills operated by colored men were large and numerous and well protected by the "county ring," who saw sharp competition in the white operated stills, especially in so far as the trade in the cities was concerned. It is this very city trade with the shipping of corn whiskey into the Northern and Western States that brings the biggest profits and draws outside money into the districts hard hit by cotton losses. The "ring" which gained by the negro distilleries began to make raids on the white men, and this stirred up a tempest in short order.

In several cases of arrests of white men the sinister shadow of the old time Ku Klux Klan was seen falling across the scene. Scribbled warnings were found posted on doors, and great excitement reigned throughout the whole countryside; a subtle spirit of distrust and suspicion of neighbor against neighbor broke out.

Prominent men assert that immediately after a white man is arrested and his still broken up hard riding bands of men robed in flowing white garments are seen patrolling the roads adjacent to the location of the still, fiery signals flash in the night from hill-top to hilltop, and strange, unearthly shrieks may be heard near the homes of those responsible for or thought to have instigated the arrests. These masked men ride far and strike suddenly, as was the old time custom

Short work is made of the stills of the negroes working under protection of white men suspected of having attacked white men who operate their own stills. This factor in the game of illicit whiskey making in the South bids fair to cause more trouble than the "peonage" system.

But the operations of the mysterious night riders are not, it seems, all directed toward the protection of the white distiller. Events point to movements within their own circles that lead men to believe that perhaps there may be two distinct organizations afield in the South. Occasions have been noted where riders bound for a point to make a demonstration against some one concerned in tormenting the white distiller have been seen to disappear into the night upon observing an equally mysterious band riding across their path near the homes of those whom the band desired to warn. The second band then vanished in an opposite direction.

Some assert that warfare between these bands may break out at any time. In that event the position of such Federal agents as might venture into the Southern countryside would be most dangerous, for, while warring against each other over a difference of who should make the precious liquor, these factions would undoubtedly unite in a mighty effort against outsiders, no matter how lawful their mission. Any one who knows the rural conditions in the cotton country knows how helpless outside investigators find themselves and what really grave dangers they face on such missions. In addition to the mysterious bands, secret service operatives would find hostility and hindrance on every side.

(From Over)

Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Monticello, Ga., April 10.—(Special.)—With the stage all set for the convening in extraordinary session of the Jasper county grand jury here tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, a rigid investigation of the John S. Williams "murder farm" will be started, and before nightfall indictments charging approximately a score of negro killings to the prominent planter and his three sons are expected to be returned.

Sheriff W. F. Persons will leave Atlanta early tomorrow morning with Clyde Manning, the negro whose confession involved and convicted Williams of murder in the Newton county superior court last week, and a number of other witnesses. The party is expected to arrive here at 10 o'clock, and the negroes will go before the grand jury immediately.

Witnesses Are Here.

Witnesses from Butts, Newton and several other counties are already here to attend the investigation. Solicitor Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit, who is directing the probe, stated tonight that, in his opinion, the evidence he has in his possession will be in the hands of the grand jury late in the afternoon. This will mean the adjournment of the body until the next regular term of court.

One of the first matters to be considered by the grand jury will be the lynching of Eugene Hamilton, which occurred here several months ago. Solicitor Campbell has in possession the names of six or seven citizens of Jasper county furnished him by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey. He will present these to the body with a mass of evidence he has accumulated, and indictments are expected to be returned.

Sensational developments have been forecast by the solicitor in this investigation.

"When the investigation starts," said Mr. Campbell, "we are expecting no trouble. Everything will be quiet and orderly. I do not anticipate a long session of the grand jury. In fact, I believe all evidence and testimony will be complete late in the afternoon, and the body will then adjourn until the next regular session of court in August. The people here are determined that law and order shall prevail, and I could ask for no better cooperation than I am now receiving."

Will Be Put On Trial.

"If Williams is indicted he will be placed on trial here just as soon as we can secure him from the officials of Newton county," he continued. "The good name of our county demands that he be tried and convicted, if guilty, and we want the world to know that conditions here have been greatly exaggerated."

In connection with the indictment against Williams, there is considerable speculation here tonight as to when the negro Manning will be tried. Since he has already confessed, it is probable that Manning's indictment will be the first

returned by the grand jury. Solicitor Campbell states that he has not decided on the date of the trial of the negro, as he must await the action of the jury on all of the charges before making his arrangements.

Owing to the fact that Manning will have to be used as a witness against Williams, it is believed that his trial will follow that of the planter. Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, stated tonight that he has "just begun to the fight." He denied that there was any truth in the rumor circulated Saturday that he would withdraw his motion of his client for a new trial in the Newton superior court.

Will Represent Boys.

Mr. Johnson will represent the Williams boys if they are indicted, and will have associated with him, W. H. Key, of this city. C. C. King is also associated with the leading attorney in the Newton county indictments against Williams.

Immediately after the indictments have been returned against the Williams boys, Solicitor Campbell will communicate with Governor Hugh M. Dorsey in Atlanta and request that he offer a reward for their apprehension. The solicitor stated that they have left the state. Governor Dorsey has already announced that he would offer a reward for their capture soon as the request was made.

Among the witnesses Sheriff Persons will bring with him are Emma Freeman, Clyde Freeman, Rena Manning, Clyde Manning's wife, Gus Chapman, Gladdis Manning and Claude Freeman. From Machin, the negroes will be brought here in automobiles.

NEW INDICTMENTS WILL BE SOUGHT AGAINST WILLIAMS

Georgia Man Is Convicted With Life Sentence on Murder Charge; Will Appeal Case; Lynching Investigation Will Come Up With Probe of Williams Case Before Inquisitorial Body

4/10/21

MONTICELLO, GA., April 9.—Indictments against John S. Williams and three of his sons and Clyde Manning, negro farm boss, on charges of the murder of a total of fourteen negroes and indictments against six or seven other citizens on charges of lynching Eugene Hamilton, negro, will be sought at the grand jury investigation beginning next Monday at Monticello according to announcement tonight from Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell.

Williams who was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment today at Covington, Ga., charged with the murder of one of the negro farm hands whom he is alleged to have feared as possible peonage witness was brought to Atlanta today for safe keeping. His motion for a new trial will be heard April 30 and Solicitor Doyle Campbell announced that if Williams is indicted in Jasper county he will not be tried pending the outcome of the hearing April 30.

Two murder indictments still are

WILLIAMS MOVED TO ATLANTA

COVINGTON, GA., April 9.—John S. Williams, Jasper county farmer, was taken to Atlanta and placed in jail today to await action April 30 on his motion for a new trial which was made here today immediately after he was convicted and sentenced to life time imprisonment on a charge of murder. He expressed confidence he would finally be cleared of the charges.

The trial was the first one arising from accusations that Williams caused the killing of eleven "negro farm hands" after department of justice agents had started to investigate alleged peonage charges on his farm February 18, last. Three of the negroes, including Lindsey Peterson, whom he was specifically charge with killing at the trial ending today, were alleged to have been brought into Newton county and drowned.

The other eight negroes were declared by Manning, negro farm boss and self-confessed accomplice, to have been killed in Jasper county and inquiry by the grand jury with a view to indicting Williams and three of his sons is to open there Monday.

Williams appeared to take his conviction calmly but when his wife and daughters broke into sobs their grief affected him and he struggled to hide his emotions as he sought to comfort them. He was allowed to remain in the court room with them for ten or fifteen minutes before being taken to Atlanta.

Date for trial of Williams on the other two indictments here has not

been set. The court announced when Manning will be tried, although it was indicated the negro would face a jury before regular July term. Counsel for Williams hold that he cannot be tried on the indictment charging murder of Willie Preston, whose body was found chained to that of Peterson, but the state contends the indictment resulting from the death of Preston is a separate one and that he can be tried on it as well as on the third indictment charging murder of another negro, Harry Price. The defense contended the drowning of Peterson and Preston was one act.

SAY EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY KILLED ON WILLIAMS FARM

Names of Three Negroes Alleged to Have Been Killed on Jasper County Place Made Public by Agents of Department of Justice; Will Widen Scope of Investigation

Montgomery Advertiser (Associated Press)

ATLANTA, GA., April 14/21

Announcement that indications pointed to eighteen or twenty negroes in all having been killed on the John S. Williams farm in Jasper county through a period extending as far back as 1910, and of their intention to widen the scope of their investigations into alleged peonage in Jasper and other Georgia counties was made here today by agents of the department of justice. Names of three more negroes alleged to have been killed were made public.

Jasper county is in the southern district of the federal district court of Georgia and simultaneously with the announcement by department of justice agents, Hooper Alexander, federal attorney for the Northern District stated it was probable he would turn all evidence his office has gathered over to John W. Bennett, federal attorney for the Southern District. Mr. Bennett said tonight over the long distance telephone that as soon as he received an official report from federal agents he would arrange to place the evidence before the grand jury which meets in Macon May 2. Indictments in the Northern District would be for "kidnapping into slavery", it being charged negroes were forcibly taken from Atlanta to work in peonage, while those in the Southern District would charge actual peonage and also be for "kidnapping" charge where negroes were taken from towns in that district. The federal grand jury here meets April 25 and Mr. Alexander indicated "kidnapping" charges would be placed before it.

Since the conviction of Williams and his sentence to life imprisonment in the state court at Covington on a charge of one of the negroes alleged to have been taken from his farm into Newton county and drowned, and indictments against his sons and Clyde Manning, negro farm boss, negroes who formerly worked on the farm are more communicative according to Vincent

of justice bureau of investigation here.

Newspapermen were allowed today to listen to stories told by several negroes today with the proviso that they would not reveal names as yet. Three witnesses declared they knew that Aleck Dyer, Nick and Mamie Walker, all negroes, were killed on the Williams farm in 1910 and 1911.

"Dyer was killed because he ran away twice", one of the negroes declared. It was said though that Nick and his wife, Mamie were knocked off because they were too old to do any more work."

Another negro declared that some forty farm hands were worked on the Williams farm in 1910 and that they were kept locked up at night and had a ball and chain fastened to their legs in the day. One negro said he was kept on the farm for six years and was fed and clothed but given only one dollar all that time. He also charged that negroes were whipped when they loafed at their work.

Six of the Negroes Held to Testify in Peonage Case Released From Custody.

Constitution 4/14/21

MACON, Ga., May 13.—(Special.)—Six of the negroes brought to Macon Tuesday, as witnesses for the government against U. G. B. Hogan, wealthy planter of Laurens county, charged with peonage, were released from the Bibb county jail today upon orders from Assistant United States District Attorney Clem Powers.

Five of the negroes were released on their own recognizance. They were Ellen Yopp, Ambrose Walker, Luella Smith, Hattie Morgan and Will Thomas. Leroy Brown made his bond and was released until May 23, when Hogan will be arraigned for a preliminary hearing before Commissioner W. E. Martin.

The release of the negroes followed a rigid examination given them yesterday, when they were put through an eight-hour grilling. The conference between the district attorney and the department of justice agents, at which the negroes were examined, will not come to light until the preliminary hearing

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions

N. Y. C. GLOBE

APRIL 8, 1921

DRAMA IN A GEORGIA COURT ROOM.

Of the jury trials of modern times none has been more amazing in its opening revelations than the trial of John S. Williams, cotton-planter, of Georgia, accused of murdering eleven negro laborers to destroy the evidence of peonage on his plantation. The little negro foreman sits in the witness chair, answering questions immovably. "Do you know," asks the prosecuting attorney, "whether Lindsey Peterson is living or dead?" "Dead," Manning answers. Dead also are Willie Preston and "Loots" Price, Johnny Green and "Little Bit." Dead are "Big John" and Charlie Whisholm. Some were killed suddenly; some went to their graves with a full knowledge of what was coming, protesting little where protest was useless, accepting the white man's word as law. One only asked that he be allowed to die like a man and climbed the railing of the bridge to fling himself, weighted with stone, into the river.

But the full horror of the situation lies not in the murders themselves so much as in the background of tyranny and hopelessness which is to be inferred from them. Underlings are not put out of the way with so little remorse by men who have served no apprenticeship in cruelty. Death by violence is not awaited stoically by men who have not lost faith in justice and grown used to unimaginable servitude. But those who have never been allowed to question their fate or demand their rights under the law are unprepared to question at the end.

If this is the peonage of which there have long been rumors out of the South it is long past time for reform. The Nation as well as the Southern States is involved in the disgrace of it.

N. Y. C. GLOBE

APRIL 8, 1921

IN DARKEST GEORGIA.

John S. Williams, the Georgia planter who is accused of having caused the murders of eleven Negro farm hands, admitted in his testimony yesterday that he might have been "technically" guilty of peonage. Most Georgia farmers were, he stated, and the Negroes on his place were said by federal agents to be "among the best fed and clothed" they had seen. The form of peonage to which he refers is debt slavery, aggravated by the systematic cheating of the Negro workers by those who hire them and sell goods to them. The murder for which a Negro named Lowry was burned at the stake in Arkansas some months ago, after being carried across three states by a "mob" in automobiles was a result of this system.

But the killing of whites by Negroes is a rare occurrence, despite the prominence naturally given to every incident of the sort. The mass of the workers under this system of peonage are probably as submissive and as terrorized as their fathers were under slavery and have almost as little protection from their owners or employers. It goes without saying that justice in cases where a Negro accuses a white man is hard to get, unless it happens to be on the white man's side.

White judges and white juries may have their notions of law and order, but they are members of the superior race first and custodians of the law second. No southerner would be likely to deny this. The murders on the Williams farm, whether committed by the accused man or by some one else, would have been impossible under conditions of free labor.

Regardless of the verdict in this case, Georgia law will not be vindicated unless something is done to abolish the institution which is the cause of so much misery and injustice. If Georgia does not act, the federal government must, and much more effectively. This is not wholly a color question, for if any working man is not free no working man is wholly safe.

N. Y. C. WORLD

APRIL 11, 1921

GEORGIA UPSETS A PRECEDENT.

The Covington jury which had the responsibility of speaking for the people of Georgia in the trial of John S. Williams reached a verdict with which friends of the State will be satisfied. That Williams was guilty of the death of Lindsay Peterson, and doubtless also of others among his negro peons, was obvious on the face of the evidence. What the jury really had to decide was whether or not a white man can be found guilty of murdering a negro in Georgia, and with that question settled in the affirmative, whether or not he can be hanged for the crime.

Williams was found guilty, and though the compromise verdict gave him life imprisonment, eight men out of the twelve were for hanging him. Beyond question, if the principals in the case had been reversed, if Peterson had killed Williams, Peterson would have been executed. But it is a gain worth recording when a Southern community accepts the word of a negro as conclusive testimony against his master in a trial for a crime. The murder of a negro is as sufficiently important to send a plantation owner to jail for life.

The change in Southern sentiment indicated by this conviction is a hopeful augury for the future of the negro. Even peonage itself may be destroyed by a quickened sense of the individual rights of citizens, regardless of race. If every Judge and jury south of Mason and Dixon's line were as upright as Judge Hutcheson and the twelve he has just dismissed, the new slavery could not long remain a problem.

TROY N. Y. EVE RECORD

APRIL 8, 1921

THE GEORGIA MURDERS.

The negro foreman of a Georgia plantation tells calmly on the witness stand of the murder of eleven negro employees. He admits having assisted in the murders. The victims were peons, a fact which of itself rendered the owner of the plantation liable under the law. A "peon," as perhaps some do not know, is an individual who is working to pay off a debt.

In this case the lives of the eleven

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

negroes in Georgia police courts had been paid by the owner. They were set to work on the plantation. But peonage is against the law, and the police authorities, hearing of the case, came down upon the proprietor. The alleged murders resulted, the motive inferred being of course that of preventing discovery of the peonage law violations.

Shocking as the murder story is, it hardly chills the blood more than the story of slavery behind it. The assertions made on the witness stand indicate that the eleven negroes regarded themselves as slaves, to be treated by their employer as such, just as if slavery were still a recognized institution. It is nonsense to suppose that this is the only case of peonage existing in the country. Every case of it must be found and wiped out. Enough evidence has been adduced in the Georgia case to indicate a diabolical crime. Decent public opinion will demand safeguards against a recurrence of any crime resembling it.

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE

APRIL 10, 1921

The New South

There has been much talk of the New South, but there have been few visible signs of its arrival as significant as the conviction of John S. Williams, of Jasper County, Georgia, for the murder of his negro peons. It is not too much to say that this verdict, found by a white jury against a white man upon negro testimony, gives more hope of light in this darkest problem of the nation than any event in years.

The Tribune finds an especial source of gratification in the fact that the whole process of justice was Southern, in initiation and in execution. It has been our contention all ways that the negro problem could best be solved, and probably only solved, by the South. The North could and did intervene to free the slave; it could and did give him the vote. But it could not secure him enjoyment of his rights. In the long run the progress of the negro depends upon himself and upon the white men and women of the South.

There have been frequent signs in recent years that the solution of the problem is under way. Many of the strongest denunciations of lynchings have come from Southern newspapers, from Southern leaders. The present verdict found in Georgia is a local sign of similar significance,

farreaching in its pronouncement. It will be applauded by clear-minded Southerners everywhere, and The Tribune warmly congratulates Jasper County and the State of Georgia upon this courageous administration of justice in defiance of race prejudice and to the permanent damning of peonage and all its works.

N. Y. C. SUN

APRIL 11, 1921

Involuntary Servitude Again.

The conviction of JOHN S. WILLIAMS, the Georgia planter charged with the murder of his farmhand LINDSEY PETERSON, brings forcibly to public attention not only the existence of peonage in certain parts of the South, but the terrible abuses to which it may lead.

Fourteen years ago the nation was startled by the announcement that this relic of slavery was still to be found in Florida and elsewhere, and for weeks the papers were filled with stories of kidnapping, whippings and barbarous cruelty. Until recently, however, it was supposed that an end had been put to the practice and that the law against involuntary labor was being strictly enforced.

It is, then, distinctly disconcerting to learn that peonage not only still survives, but in various localities seems to be the accepted practice. WILLIAMS is reported as declaring on the witness stand that most farmers in Georgia were technically guilty of peonage, bonding out negroes and working them.

This statement is not fully borne out by VINCENT HUGHES of the Georgia Department of Justice, who thinks that the practice is confined to two or three sore spots. He admits, however, that the peonage law is widely violated and that many farmers not technically guilty of holding laborers for debt, nevertheless accomplish the same end through fear and other coercion.

Clearly it behooves the State of Georgia to instigate a searching investigation, so that her fair name may be cleared of this reproach. In certain counties, at least, there seems to have been little advance since the days, over half a century ago, of the black codes, which were so instrumental in bringing on Congressional Reconstruction.

The plea of the planters that stories of cruelty are greatly exaggerated and that the peons, with rare exceptions, are well fed and not overworked, are beside the point. The Constitution of the United States pro-

(From Over)

vides that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. If this provision can be violated with impunity the negro of the far South is left at the mercy of his white neighbor and the establishment of an involuntary servitude akin to serfdom, if not precisely to chattel slavery, becomes possible, if not inevitable. To the fact that the practice is liable to terrible abuses, the trial and conviction of WILLIAMS gives ample testimony.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES

APRIL 11, 1921

THE WILLIAMS PEONAGE CASE.

Newton County, in which JOHN S. Williams, a planter, has been found guilty of the murder of a negro held in peonage, is little more than an hour's ride by automobile from Atlanta, and Jasper, the adjoining county, where the defendant lived, is about thirty miles north of Macon. That part of Central Georgia should be a prosperous cotton-growing country in normal times, with good schools, police protection, and courts where negroes, however ignorant and simple, might have their wrongs inquired into. But it has been established that eleven plantation workers employed at one time or another on the Williams place were beaten to death, shot or drowned.

WILLIAMS was indicted in Newton County jointly with his negro overseer, CLYDE MANNING, because Allen Bridge, from which some of the bodies of the poor wretches were cast into the Yellow River, deep and swift at that point, is in Newton County. The details of the murder of the negroes PETERSON and PRESTON, whose hands were tied with wire, their necks bound with trace chains to weighted gunny sacks, were revolting in the extreme. A worse story has not been told of the horrors of peonage in Yucatan. No wonder Jasper and Newton contended for the credit of putting the defendants on trial first. Their communities may not be suspected of indifference to a state of debt slavery that brutalized the whites who were responsible for it, but a healthy and active public opinion that insisted upon fair play for the negroes and humane treatment for them would have abolished peonage long ago. It

seems that only constant vigilance by the Federal Department of Justice confines the post-war slavery of plantation negroes to "sore spots" where social conditions are less advanced," to quote from the report of an investigator.

What should be determined is how many of these "sore spots" there are in the Cotton States. United States January that wrongs were perpetrated against negroes in Georgia that "ran all the gamut from petty cheating to deliberate and plotted murder." The National Association for the Advancement of Col-

ored People asserts that "peonage is widespread throughout the Mississippi Delta wherever cotton is grown and there is need of large numbers of negro laborers." In Arkansas it has not been uncommon. In what other Southern States is it tolerated or ignored? MANNING, the negro overseer who turned State's evidence, could not read nor write and did not know where he was born. Practically all the victims of peonage are illiterate and unintelligent. When they have a glimmering of their rights and talk of organizing to get justice, they are regarded as dangerous. Education of the negro is none too popular where hands are needed for cotton picking. The "awful tragedies," which, Governor DORSEY says, "all true Georgians deplore," point to the necessity of a thorough investigation by the Department of Justice of charges of peonage in the South.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

APRIL 11, 1921

A GREAT CRIME INSUFFICIENTLY PUNISHED.

When Governor Dorsey of Georgia said that all true Georgians deplored the shocking conditions of peonage and the incidental killing of negroes as revealed by the arrest and trial of John S. Williams, the Covington County planter, he spoke accurately concerning the opinion of intelligent and humane people in the State. Whether Governor Dorsey in using the phrase "all true Georgians" was stating his belief that the great majority of the white people in Georgia unreservedly condemned the crimes of which Williams was guilty, we do not know. If the majority opinion of Georgia takes that view it is not wisely reflected in the verdict of the jury convicting Williams of murder in the first degree, but recommending him to mercy, a recommendation that automatically reduces

his penalty from death to life imprisonment.

The life of a negro is cheaply held throughout the South. His status in this respect is little removed from what it was in slavery days. Juries of whites will not send a white man to the gallows or the electric chair for killing a negro. Look at the facts brought out in the case of this unspeakable scoundrel, Williams. He practiced peonage on his plantation until the condition of his so-called employees was no better than that of the human chattels in the days before the Emancipation Proclamation abolished slaveholding forever in these United States. The men were herded into stockades like animals. They were treated worse than animals. When it was suspected that they might lodge information against a taskmaster beside whom Simon Legree appears almost respectable they were brained with axes, shot in the back or, shackled together with iron chains and encased in gunny sacks to prevent them struggling for their lives, were pushed off a bridge into a river.

Williams not only murdered. He massacred. He so terrorized a colored overseer that the latter helped him execute his brutal decrees because the overseer was himself afraid of being killed, and no one will deny that the fear was justified. Yet Williams escapes the death he richly deserves and goes to prison nominally for life, but with at least a possibility of being let out years hence when the horror of his crimes has been forgotten and when public opinion becomes indifferent to his fate.

It is gratifying, however, to know that eight members of the jury were for sending Williams to death. The remaining four saved him by a stubbornness accounted for only on the ground that they do not believe in imposing the extreme penalty for murder in any case where the victim is black and the slayer white. Still, civilization in this country gains something by the outcome of the Williams trial. It gains knowledge of shocking conditions that are probably not confined to the Williams plantation. Peonage is an offense against the Federal law. It can be prosecuted and rooted out by the Federal power in any locality where it is still practiced, and it is the duty of the Department of Justice to determine by investigation whether the system in vogue under Williams is pursued elsewhere. If Williams is not a solitary offender against law, if he has imi-

tators elsewhere throughout the South, State authorities for the sake of their own reputation and in deference to the decent opinion of their own sections should earnestly co-operate with the Federal agents in stamping out an evil that smirches in equal measure the State and the Nation.

N. Y. C. E. P. WORKS

APRIL 11, 1921

A STRONG PRECEDENT.

CONVICTION of John S. Williams in the Georgia peonage murder case is one of the big events of the year.

It marks a milestone for both the white and the negro races. A white jury accepted the testimony of a negro witness and punished a white man on the strength of that evidence.

The white South approves, as is clearly shown both by the calm during the trial and by the prevailing tone of editorial opinion.

But is the South willing to learn all the lesson which the Williams case teaches?

Is the South willing to make peonage impossible in the future by abolishing the severe jail punishments for petty offenses which make the "buying out" process possible?

And, finally, is the South going to vindicate law and justice by swift and sure punishment of lawless lynching which has blackened the record of the South?

Georgia justice has vindicated itself. The whites of the South punished an offender against the unwritten law of noblesse oblige in the treatment of negroes. No Federal intervention was required.

Will Georgia and the other Southern States take similar action in the case of lynchings or will they temporize until a Federal Anti-Lynch Law is enacted?

The Williams trial and conviction is a good precedent for a new regime of law and right in the relations between the whites and blacks.

N. Y. C. TELEGRAPH

APRIL 12, 1921

SUGGESTION TO CENSORS.

THAT Southern plantation owner who seems to have decided to operate the negro race single-handed and alone may have gotten the awful idea from reading the Biblical account of the jawbone raid in which Samson almost exterminated the Philistines.

Agriculture - 1921.

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

Labor Conditions —And This From a Georgia Editor

Columbus, Ga., April 15.—The jury which heard the evidence in the peonage trial of John S. Williams, planter, accused of killing eleven farm hands, and on trial for the slaying of one of them, brought in a verdict of guilty, with life sentence, but urged "mercy" on the court. Sunday's Enquirer-Sun has the following editorial by Thomas W. Loveless:

"A Newton county jury has tried John S. Williams, the Jasper county multi-murderer, found him guilty, and recommended him to the mercy of the court. By what process of reasoning the jury arrived at this form of verdict is difficult if not well nigh impossible to imagine. This is, if we try to analyze it by any 'process of reasoning,' but if we brush aside all subterfuge and hypocrisy and tell the plain truth about it, the verdict—as great a travesty of justice as it is—is not so difficult to understand.

"And this plain truth is we have not yet reached that state of grace, or of justice, in Georgia where we 'hang a white man for killing a nigger,' as the expression is and has long been. . . .

"However, the owner and operator of this Georgia 'murder farm' escapes with his own life—a penitentiary sentence—and perhaps a pardon later on if he lives long enough and his family can bring enough influence to bear.

"Thus do we again 'advertise Georgia.' God help her."

Judgment in Georgia, 4/16/21

When ex-Ambassador Bryce was in this country representing the English government, he at the same time collected material for his very excellent book, "The American Commonwealth." Mr. Bryce, in studying the legal system in the South, commented that he observed a very good set of laws on the statute books in Georgia and Alabama and that they compared favorably with those of Massachusetts, which were patterned after those of England. Mr. Bryce made the same mistake most casual investigators fall into. He read the laws but did not see them put into operation.

The purpose of laws and legal systems, according to the late Ezra Ripley Thayer, of the Harvard law school, is to satisfy and sanction human desires. The laws are supposed to offer substantial remedies for those who suffer because of their infraction. The law gives remedies and when there is a law without a remedy, an old English judge Mr. Chief Justice Denman, remarked that "It is as if it were not."

In Georgia the law is "tinkling brass and sounding cymbal" as far as it concerns thousands of black men who seem to be thrice and four times cursed by being forced to live therein. John Williams, the cold-blooded imp of hell, who murdered eleven black men in the murky recesses of Jasper county, which accommodates the tragic "death farm," has been tried by a judge and a jury of twelve men. He has been found guilty. The jury recommended mercy. The judge sentenced Williams to life imprisonment. "Judgment thou hast flown to brutish beast and men have lost their reason."

A sentence of life imprisonment entails a possibility of a future pardon or an immediate parole for good behavior. Thus a perpetrator of a vile and heinous crime who is unfit to abide in the land of the living is allowed to survive while his hapless victims lay rotting beneath the bloody soil of "death farm"—meanwhile others of his victims are slowly decomposed by the elements of the ghostly Yellow river. Capital punishment is provided to free society from unfit subjects. If John Williams is fit to live, then call back to life the most diabolical murderers of all times. Call back Becker! Call back Mrs. Mc Ginnis! Call back Hans Schmidt! Call back Czolgosz! Call back all the murderers of the past! Let them all live! But let the gate posts of Georgia's judgment temple be stained with human blood. It has been declared that Williams is fit to live.

Georgia's public opinion is the cause of the Williams decision. The Georgians do not believe that the lives of eleven black men are worth that of one blackguard white man. In Illinois, recently when the wife-murderer, Wanderer, was sentenced to serve only twenty-five years, public opinion was brought to bear and Wanderer was reindicted for the murder of the ragged stranger and was then sentenced to hang by the neck until dead. In Illinois Williams would hang. In Georgia the laws do not operate toward the consummation of justice. Georgia does not seem to want justice, it seems to crave white supremacy, and even peonage and murder do not repulse the spirit of that commonwealth.

There remain eight murders, separate and distinct, for which John Williams can be indicted and punished. For the eleven souls which were thrust from nature into eternity by the ruthless hand of this murderer, he is morally and legally accountable. Will Georgia act and retrieve for its past lynchings or will it continue to remain a blot upon the fair face of civilization?

THOUSANDS LEAVE SOUTH; EXODUS FELT IN GEORGIA

Chicago Defender
By the Continental Press. 4/16/21

Atlanta, Ga., April 15.—The testimony brought out at the trial of Planter Williams, who was convicted of murder of farm hands last week at Covington, Ga., has caused untold thousands to prepare to leave this section of the country. It is hard for any one to estimate the shortage of farm labor that Georgia will see in the course of the next few months. Realizing this, pressure has been brought to bear on the authorities here and elsewhere in the state to do something to offset this exodus.

No matter what effort is made to bring the guilty white men to the bar of justice the exodus will continue. Farm hands will take their chances in the North and the West rather than suffer the fate of the men on Williams' plantation.

The peonage system, although unbelievable to the most skeptical white people in the North, is in full swing down here. This was brought out in the trial of Williams and admitted by the prisoners on the witness stand that "most Georgia farmers were guilty." The only remedy of this is new peonage laws for the state and a thorough investigation by the federal authorities.

Unsuspecting men and women have been arrested on the streets of this city and Macon as well as smaller cities, lodged in jail and kept confined there without the possible chance of getting in communication with either relatives, friends or lawyers. Brought before the supposed bar of justice they are fined for disorderly conduct and placed in the stockade owing to their inability to get to friends to pay their fine. From the stockade white farmers get their labor by "bonding" out these prisoners. They are taken to plantations, where they work out their fine. As there is no accounting made, fines of twenty-five and fifty dollars often take years to work out. This system

is made rather easy because, clothing, eatables (such as they are) are distributed from a general store, owned by the planter, who always sees that these meager necessities in life are kept high enough to keep his farm hands always in his debt.

There is always a close watch kept on the laborers for fear they might escape. Those having a bit of knowledge of what to do or a tendency to demand a fair treatment meet with the same fate as those killed on the Williams farm.

It is an easy matter here for a white man to convince the authorities that they were attacked or that his wife or daughter had been attacked and he was forced to kill in self-defense. A white man's word is never questioned here.

Williams Verdict Unpopular

The verdict of the jurors in the Williams case is met with disapproval by those of Color here and about this section of the country. They feel the world at large knew Williams was guilty and should have hanged, yet he was given a life sentence—a possible chance to escape altogether as his lawyers will go before the Newton county bar and ask for a retrial on the 30th of the month. Should the expected happen and Judge Hutcheson refuse to grant him another trial the case will be taken before the Georgia Supreme Court. There is no telling what the outcome will be. Thousands will not wait to see. Georgia's past history has been of such it would be unwise to wait. They feel it would be far better to freeze or die in the North than to be drowned or killed like dogs in the South.

And not only Georgia, but in Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas and practically all the Southern states does this system of peonage and death run rampant. The Elaine riots of last summer was only one case where farm hands had banded together for a fair deal.

The activities of the Ku Klu Klan has been of such a nature that in

many cases men have been afraid to raise their hats to women of their own Race when certain white men have been near. The sole thought of the South seems to be the "purity of the white Race" and "debauchery of Negro womanhood." The ministers, who have been advising their congregations to remain quiet and pray for the salvation of their souls, are growing into disfavor. The Race is stirred to action and from now on their song is:

"From Georgia's stormy banks I go,
I bid the South goodbye;
I'm going where the North winds blow
Without a wistful sigh."

THE SHAMBLES OF GEORGIA (From the Louisville Leader)

To those who complain that the Negro does not know his real friends, we point to "Jasper county." To those who say that the South has the best interest of the Negro at heart we point to the peonage, the lynching, the almost universal disfranchisement that is practiced there.

This could not exist without the tacit consent of those in authority, without the practical connivance of those who are influential in their state and nation.

In every community there are white men who are influential who are the leaders of the religious, the educational and the political thought of that particular community. They lead and all the others are but followers. In the face of the most atrocious crimes against the lives and property of Colored citizens, the pulpit of the South has remained silent, and the press has served only as a feeder to the flames of racial passion.

It is this attitude on the part of those who claim that they have the best interest of the Negro at heart that seems so surprising to us. If they were sincere they could stop lynching, they could destroy peonage, they could bring about social justice. But instead of doing these things which would lessen the racial friction 90 per cent, they spend their time organizing Ku Klux Klans and Columbian Unions, the purposes of which are to "keep the Negro in his place" and maintain so-called white supremacy.

Our faith in the good will of the best minds of the South is about exhausted. We have had enough of advice as to what is best for us. We ask that in the future those so interested in our welfare shall advise their friends and fellow citizens concerning the crimes which they commit in the name of "Southern gentlemen."

GEORGIA ILL JOURNAL
MAY 6, 1921

GEORGIA AS THE SOUTH SEES HER.

There seems to be no doubt of the guilt of the man Williams, convicted of being the "master mind" in the Georgia murders. No punishment that can be meted out to him by a civilized society is adequate. One encouraging detail of the case is that we have heard no note of sympathy for him even from his neighbors in Jasper county. For the Negro, Clyde Manning we have compassion, because he evidently did the bidding of his master under duress and the spell of terror. But the law is, as it should be, inexorable, and it

is our hope that Manning will, likewise, pay the penalty for his awful crimes.

As usual, the newspapers of the north are making capital out of this awful affair. As usual, they neglect to distinguish between the orderly people of the south, who comprise all but an infinitesimal part of the population, and the occasional bloody monster who is no more peculiar to this region than he is to any other region of the United States or the world in general. It is a great tragedy of our journalism that the northern editor, so well learned with regard to most matters, is such an ignorant ass with regard to the south. Not more than one in fifty of them has ever seen the south; not more than one in fifty knows any more about it than he has read in the columns of northern papers. But, as it is more profitable to them to feed the insatiable maws of a cheap and sordid sensationalism than it is for them to dig for the truth, we can understand their attitude.

This is not, however, to condone the Georgia crime. That must be expiated to the last drop of agony and blood, if the state of Georgia would stand vindicated before the people of the south. If there be any sign of lackening, any indication of softening, the people of the south should be the first to point the finger of condemnation at Georgia, as we believe they would.—Columbia Record.

SPRINGFIELD MASS REPUBLICAN Peonage in the South

The evidence that wholesale and cold-blooded murder has been perpetrated on one Georgia farm in an effort to conceal the facts as to the holding of Negroes in involuntary servitude should be sufficient to arouse public opinion to demand and support immediate abolition of the long-tolerated custom. The murder of the 11 Negroes at Monticello suggests that their previous treatment had been so brutal that severe punishment was feared as the result of exposure; at all events it discloses an indifference to the sanctity of human life that is a tragic reminder of the worst phases of chattel slavery.

The investigation which precipitated the tragedy was being conducted by agents of the United States department of justice. Peonage is a federal offense. The 13th amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude, "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," gives Congress power to enforce it "by appropriate legislation." On March 2, 1867, Congress prohibited "the

system known as peonage, especially to meet conditions existing in New Mexico and other territory acquired from Mexico. On June 23, 1874, it was forbidden "to kidnap or carry away any other person with intent to hold him for involuntary servitude."

The form of peonage to which the statute of 1867 directly applied is that by which an employe in debt to his employer is obliged to serve as long as the debt continues. A requirement of this sort, under which many Negro farmers were held, appears to have been the cause of the disturbances in Phillips county, Ark., in 1919, as a result of which 12 Negroes were sentenced to death and 67 to terms of imprisonment. It has been stated by investigators that the Negroes, instead of having organized for a concerted attack on the whites, as alleged, had organized for the peaceful redress at law of their grievances.

Various suits were brought in the federal courts of the South in 1902, against violators of the peonage acts with the result that some of the worst offenders were imprisoned, and in 1911 a test case brought before the United States supreme court resulted in a decision rendering void the Alabama statute by which Negroes were practically compelled to work out their labor contract. The ruling was a blow at what might have been called a "standard" form of peonage. It was common practice to find a Negro guilty of misdemeanor, under state statute, for breaking his contract; take him prisoner in default of payment of fine, and farm him out to the person who had hired him.

It does not appear, however, that state law is a factor in the Georgia case. It seems to come directly under one of the federal statutes, but it is said that public opinion in the region is such that the federal investigations have been conducted under great difficulties. Georgia is by no means the only offending state. According to officials of the national association for the advancement of colored people, peonage is especially widespread throughout the whole Mississippi delta, particularly in the cotton districts. A striking parallel to the Georgia horror of to-day is suggested by the testimony of Negroes, alleged victims of peonage, before a

Tennessee grand jury in 1907. They were said to have "told pitiable tales of their suffering and maltreatment and related stories of seeing men killed, dragged to the river in blankets, weighted and then sunk into the water."

The whole question of peonage, including the laws and practices of the states with reference to the letter and spirit of the federal laws, should be taken up vigorously by the department of justice. The authority is without question and it is high time for its full exercise.

EDFORD MASS STANDARD
MARCH 30, 1921

Peonage Murders

Developments in the Georgia peonage murders run true to form. Negroes secured for labor from penal institutions were evidently held in virtual bondage. Slavery has been abolished, but not enforced labor for debt. The name of the thing may be different, but essentially it remains the same as that which the Civil War was supposed to have abolished.

When the peons were murdered on a wholesale scale—shot and buried in graves they had been compelled to dig, or weighted and drowned in the river—officialdom which had connived at peonage could not longer shut its eyes to the situation. A coroner's jury was called; its verdict was one of murder that called for prosecutions.

Observe, now, the next move. Suddenly there sprang up rumors of a Negro uprising. Naturally the slaughter of the wretched peons would inflame the blacks; if anything would justify armed retaliation, it would be this wanton butchery. So the rumor of an uprising was artfully set going, and armed whites gathered from far and near to fight for white supremacy. Only the fact that the Negroes have, in fear and trembling, hid themselves, prevented more killings. The purpose, of course, was obvious: to make it appear that the Negroes were out to massacre the whites, to stir up a race war in order to distract the public attention from the murders on the Williams farm.

Georgia is on trial. So, to an extent, is the federal government which has authority in the matter under the fifteenth amendment. Chiefly, however, it is the state that will be watched, because the killings were crimes of which the state has jurisdiction. Does Georgia sanction murder when a Negro peon is the victim?

PEONAGE OUTRAGES WITH

MURDER THRILLS IN GEORGIA

Journal & Guide 4/9/21
There is always something doing in Georgia which does not exalt the State in the estimation of decent man-

kind. This has been true as long as we can remember. We hope it may not be that way always. The worst reprobate is supposed to reach, sometime, the end of his rope and be constrained to give an account of his works. And in matters that concern the relations of the races Georgia has ever since the Civil War, occupied a front place among offending States. The distinction is not one to be proud of, but Georgians do not appear to regard it that way.

Just now Georgia occupies the front of the stage of scandal in the matter of the maintenance of a peonage farm and the murder of eleven Negro farm hands by a big planter of the name of John S. Williams. Several bodies of Negroes were found anchored in the Yellow and the Ocmulgee rivers. The investigation into the mystery of their deaths led to the arrest of Clyde Manning, a foreman and confidante of Williams, himself a Negro. He testified that a regular system of peonage was maintained on the big plantation owned by Williams; that the farmhands, held to involuntary servitude, were herded at night and barred in just as convicts are, and worked the limit during the day. He also testified that, since last February, eleven Negroes had been murdered and disposed of at the instance of Williams, because he considered them to be unreliable characters who might testify against him and his sons, should their peonage practices be probed by the legal authorities.

State and Federal agents were put to work and the eleven Negroes were discovered and accounted for, just as Clyde Manning had indicated. Williams and Manning are in the Fulton county jail at Atlanta and warrants are out for his three sons. Their cases will soon come before the State and Federal courts, and the guilty ones may possibly be convicted and

unished. State and Federal authorities are working in concert to vindicate the majesty of the law. That is as it should be.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

FIVE CORPSES DUG OUT OF RESTING PLACE IN JASPER

Atlanta Constitution

Body of Another Negro
Found When Officers
Drag Murky Depths of
Alcove River Saturday.

3/27/21

SEARCH IS CONDUCTED
BY CONFESSED SLAYER

John Williams Already
Under Arrest in Fulton
Tower and His Three
Sons Are Also Jailed.

BY MARION KENDRICK,
(Constitution Staff Correspondent)

Covington, Ga., March 26.—(Special.)—The decaying bodies of six negroes, five dug from shallow graves, another dragged from the murky depths of the Alcove river, lay for a while on the earth near the home of John Williams, prominent Jasper county planter, this afternoon as mute and revolting evidence in the sensational investigation of alleged peonage cases in the community. For a time the bodies lay where they had been uncovered, then they were reinterred to await a coroner's inquest Sunday morning.

The ceremonies of disinterment were carried on under the direction of Clyde Manning, negro who confessed to the murder of four of his race and to complicity in the death of others. From place to place the investigators followed him, digging at his direction and uncovering their gruesome finds. The horrible quest ended, Manning was returned to the Fulton county tower.

Special Session Of Court.

Developments in the sensational chapter of crime have followed in rapid succession, it being learned Saturday night that Judge J. M. Parks, of the Ocmulgee circuit of the superior court, had called a

special session of the grand jury to meet in Monticello next Thursday and Friday to probe the wholesale slaughter, and that, on account of the preponderance of rumors, the business and personal relations between Solicitor Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit and Williams will be searchingly investigated by officials.

Sensational developments, which will result in a rigid investigation of several Jasper county officials relative to the peonage cases in that county, were disclosed here by investigators, following the discovery this afternoon of the six bodies near the home of John Williams, who is now held in the Fulton Tower charged with murder, and the arrest of Williams' three sons.

No picture more horrible could have been painted by Poe than the figures of men digging in shallow graves, dredging the waters of Alcove river for murdered negroes, and the final exhumation, one by one, of badly-decomposed bodies. It was only after this sickening task that had been completed and the bodies heaped back into the graves to await the coroner's inquest Sunday morning, that it became known that both the business and personal relations between Solicitor Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit with Williams will be subject to a probe by officials.

It has not been definitely charged that there has been anything unlawful in the transactions between Solicitor Campbell and Williams but on account of the circulation of rumors and alleged unwillingness of Jasper county authorities to aid the state, it is said that an investigation will probably be made, in justice to him and to throw a true light on the situation.

Solicitor Campbell resides in Monticello, and could not be reached this evening to secure a statement regarding the rumors.

Have Been Probing.

For several months federal investigators have been at work on peonage cases in this section of Georgia. Sheriff Persons, of Jasper county, is already under indictment for "kidnaping a negro into slavery," and he is another of the county officials who will be subject to further investigation.

It is known that the chief executive, Newton county officials and federal agents consider the conditions in Jasper county very serious, and it was intimated here tonight that, if efforts already made to secure co-operation should fail, drastic means will be taken to bring the situation under complete control and stamp out violations of the peonage laws. At present, Solicitor General A. M. Brand is directing the investigation, with the assistance of Governor Dorsey, Judge John B. Hutcheson, federal agents and Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of Newton county.

With the discovery of the six bodies under the direction of Clyde Manning, who was carried to the scene from the Fulton jail to substantiate his confession Thursday to the effect he had killed four of the negroes and aided in the

death of others under orders of Williams, a total of nine of the eleven negroes known to have been killed had been found by officials. The disinterment of these bodies, officials declare, tightens the network of evidence against Williams, and Solicitor-General A. M. Brand is now working on other clues which are expected to confirm information of a startling nature received by him Saturday afternoon.

National Guard Ready.
Under the protection of a posse of thirty men and the guidance of the negro, who is also under indictment for murder, a number of men searched for the missing bodies near Williams' home and in the Alcove river, while the Jackson company of the national guard stood in arms ready to rush to the scene should any opposition be made to the move.

Before the effort to find the bodies was started, warrants for the arrest of three of the Williams boys, Julius, Huland and Marvin, were issued after requests from Solicitor Brand and Governor Dorsey had been sent to the Jasper county sheriff. The men were lodged in the county jail and Judge Parks was asked later to sign an order to move them to the Fulton Tower, but he refused. Owing to the situation in Jasper, it is understood that officials want the prisoners placed in the jail in Atlanta for safe-keeping.

With a commission from Judge John B. Hutcheson giving him the right to form a posse of not less than fifteen men to accompany him as he took Manning back into the county where the negroes were slain, Sheriff B. L. Johnson left Covington this morning on the task of confirming the confession of the negro prisoner. At Waters bridge, fourteen miles from Clivington, the Newton county posse was met by Sheriff Persons and eight deputies from Monticello.

Search for Bodies.
Men were left at this bridge to search for the bodies of Charles Chisholm, John Brown and "Little Bit," whom Manning had declared were drowned there like struggling cats. The negro pointed out the places where the men had been thrown and the dredging of the Alcove river, was started, while the remainder of the party went to the plantation of Williams.

Without hesitating Manning took the officers to a pasture about a quarter of a mile from the Williams house. There he pointed out the spots, pausing sometimes as if attempting to remember where some of the bodies had been buried, but he quickly came to his decision and said to Sheriff Johnson:

"Dig here, boss. Here's where we buried some of them."

And the men started on their gruesome task. The graves were shallow and covered with leaves. Before the men had been digging many minutes a badly decomposed body was found.

"This is Johnny Greene," said Manning, after closely examining the body. The body was in horrible condition, but the negro went about his identification in a calm business-like way.

More Bodies Found.
A few minutes later two more bodies were found, and were identified by the negro as Johnny Williams and Willie Givens.

From the pasture Manning guided the posse to the Campbell place, near Alcove, and there pointed out graves for the men to dig. As he stood by one of the places, Manning told in the typical negro con-

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

versation how "Big John," the negro buried there, had been made to dig his own grave.

"Me, Charlie Chisholm and Big John were digging here with Mr. Johnny (Williams) standing over us. He told us to dig a well and to have it round," the negro said.

"We were digging away, when Mr. Johnny told me and Charlie to get out and let Big John dig. He had already fixed it. Charlie stood by the hole with an axe in one hand, Mr. Johnny just touched him, and down came the axe on Big John's head. We let him lie just like he fell, and without waiting to see whether he was dead or not, we threw the dirt in over him."

The body of Big John was found just as Manning had described, and after a body was exhumed which was identified as Fletcher Smith by the negro.

In the meanwhile, deputies dredged the Alcove river and discovered the body of one negro. Manning identified the corpse as that of Charlie Chisholm, and told how he and "Mr. Johnny" had overpowered him, tied a sack of rocks to his feet and thrown him from the bridge to drown.

Concerned Over Discovery.

Manning said that none of the negroes had been killed after the first three bodies were found in Yellow and South rivers. He was asked what Williams had said when these bodies were discovered, and replied that Williams did not appear at all nervous, but was much concerned over the discovery of the bodies. Manning said that Williams told him to keep his "mouth shut," and that if he didn't say anything, the federal officials would never find out who killed the negroes. He said that Williams threatened to kill him if he talked.

Sheriff Johnson, in a statement, stated his appreciation of the co-operation of Sheriff Persons, and said that in his opinion, the best people in both Newton and Jasper counties are eager to co-operate to stop the peonage law violations.

When the deputies dredging the river stopped in their gruesome search this evening, the drag hooks had caught hold of something which they were unable to bring to the surface. The search for the two bodies believed to be still in the river will be continued Sunday morning.

Denied His Guilt.

Following the sensational confession of Manning before the Newton county grand jury Thursday, Williams was arrested and brought to Atlanta. At the Fulton county Tower Friday he denied his guilt and declared an old family feud had resulted in a "frame up" to cause his arrest. He stated he had prominent friends in Jasper county who would assist in his acquittal.

Governor Dorsey has paid Solicitor Brand, Judge Hutcheson and the federal officials a high compliment for the interest they have shown in the case, and the work of the former which has resulted in the arrest of Manning and the four Williams.

Petition of Brand.

The petition of Mr. Brand follows: Georgia, Newton County—To the Superior Court of said County: A. M. Brand, Solicitor-General represents:

(1) That John S. Williams has been indicted by the grand jury of Newton county for the offense of murder.

(2) Clyde Manning was a witness against said Williams and in his evidence discloses that said Williams murdered and directed that at least two negroes should be murdered in order to prevent said negroes from testifying against said Williams. And it furthermore appears from the evidence of said Manning that said negroes were burned on the plantation of the said Williams, in the county of Jasper.

(3) It is necessary and desirable in the

prosecution of the said Williams aforesaid, and for the further prosecution of others charged with violations of the criminal laws in Newton county that this evidence of said Manning should be either corroborated or disproved.

Therefore, petitioner prays that in view of satisfactory evidence in his possession indicating that it might be dangerous to take said Manning to said county aforesaid unless said Manning should be accompanied and guarded by at least fifteen or more men, that this court direct the sheriff of this county to swear in not less than fifteen reliable and trustworthy citizens of this county to accompany said sheriff and said witness and said Manning to the graves of said two negroes, deceased, and for the purpose of fully protecting said Manning on said trip.

Petitioner prays that this order be immediately passed and that said sheriff be instructed to immediately summon whatever posse comitatus may be necessary to protect said negro in making the disclosures referred to. Also that authority be given for disinterment of the dead bodies of such negroes as may have been disposed of on the plantation aforesaid.

ALONZO M. BRAND,
Solicitor-General Stone Mountain Circuit.

(Read and considered.)

The sheriff of Newton county is hereby ordered to summon a posse comitatus in such numbers as in his judgment may be necessary to enable him to disinter the bodies aforesaid, and to make such inspection and examination of the premises in question as may be deemed advisable.

The sheriff, in view of the situation presented by the petition of the solicitor-general aforesaid, is directed, however, to swear in not less than fifteen men.

Signed this March 24, 1921.
JOHN B. HUTCHESON,
Judge, Superior Court, Stone Mountain Circuit

Peonage Conditions Given

As the Cause of Killings

Atlanta Constitution 3/28/21

BY MARION KENDRICK, Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., March 27.—(Special.)—If John S. Williams, prominent Jasper county farmer, now held in the Fulton Tower under indictment for murder, killed or assisted Clyde Manning in the homicide of the eleven negroes found on and near the former's home, 16 miles from here, what was his motive?

This is a question almost everyone has asked, and many have attempted to answer, since the confession of Manning implicating the white planter was made public.

Williams moved to Jasper county from Forsyth twenty-seven years ago, and reports following him to his new home at this time indicated that his residence and other buildings on the Monroe county plantation had been destroyed by fire. Since residing in Jasper, the planter has acquired considerable property, and is well known throughout this section of the state.

About March 1, according to reliable information, two department of justice agents, A. J. Wisner and E. S. Chastain, came to Jasper county to investigate alleged peonage practices on the Williams farm. The owner, however, gave a satisfactory explanation, but the authorities found suspicious conditions on a farm operated by Hulon Williams, one of his sons, it is said.

Immediately after the officials had left, it is reported that Williams sent his sons out of the state and the killing of the negroes was started. The farmer gave his reason, according to Manning's confession, that he was afraid the negroes would tell federal officials of violations of the peonage law, and rather than face the danger of being arrested with his sons, he caused and assisted in the homicides.

No negroes were killed after the first three bodies were found in the Yellow and South rivers several weeks ago, Manning has stated. It is also stated that no murders occurred after the three Williams boys returned home.

There is still considerable interest and comment here tonight over the finding of a note by Will Cook, a farmer residing ten miles from Covington, on his porch Saturday morning, warning him to watch for an attack by the negroes. The note was signed by a "nigger friend," and stated that the attack would occur Saturday night. No trouble occurred, but authorities are making an investigation. Federal officials will continue their investigation during this week of alleged peonage conditions in Jasper county.

JOHNSON TO OFFER PLEA OF JEOPARDY

Indications Are Williams Will Not Be Placed on Trial in Newton on Another Murder Charge.

Following postponement Saturday of the hearing of the motion for a new trial for John S. Williams, conducted in Newton county of the murder of Lindsey Peterson, one of the eleven dead negroes from the Williams "murder farm," in Jasper county, the indications became practically conclusive that Williams will never be tried in Newton county on another murder charge, and that if he faces a jury on the charge of murder of any of the others of the eleven negroes, it will be in Jasper.

When Judge John B. Hutcheson, sitting in a motions session in DeKalb courthouse Saturday, sounded the case against Williams, Attorney Greene F. Johnson, as reason for his request for postponement of argument on his motion for a new trial, said he had been unable, to date, to secure a copy of the judge's charge, and the request made of the court by counsel for certain matters to be included in the charge.

These, Judge Hutcheson said, had been mailed to Mr. Johnson Thursday evening, but even had he received them by Friday, the court recognized the fact that there would not have been time to prepare his presentation of the motion for a new trial.

Agrees to Postponement.

It was no fault of the court, said Judge Hutcheson, nor of the attorneys, but the record is a voluminous one, and it could not be gotten into Mr. Johnson's hands in time. For that reason, Mr. Johnson was not in position to file his amended motion, but said he would announce ready at any future time the court might select, and it was agreed the case would be carried over until next Saturday morning at 10 o'clock in DeKalb county courtroom.

Present when the case was sounded were Solicitor-General Brand and Hon. William Schly Howard, who acted as leading prosecutor in handling the case in Newton county. Mr. Howard stated that he will participate in any further prosecution that may take place in Newton county, but will not be associated in the prosecution of any other cases.

On the best of authority, it is learned that, whenever the remaining indictment against John S. Williams in Newton county is sounded, if it ever is, the position of the defense will be that the death of Lindsey Peterson and Willie Preston, who were killed at one and the same time, in the same manner, and on the same allegations, was one transaction; that the two men, when their bodies were recovered, were found to have been bound together. Williams has, they will contend, been put in jeopardy of his life on that charge, and the state has actually already aligned him on an indictment charging the murder of both Peterson and Preston at the same time, and

that the state has actually tried him on the charge of the murder of both these men. On that ground, the defense will set up a plea of former jeopardy in the remaining Newton county case and, if the lower court fails to sustain the plea, the case then will be taken to the supreme court on the same ground.

There is no ground for setting up a plea of former jeopardy in the Jasper county cases for which Williams is indicted and, it is learned, there has never been any purpose or the part of counsel for the defense so to do.

In respect to those alleged transactions, however, there can be no change of venue, however much the state's counsel or the community may desire it, unless the defendant himself should elect to move for such a change.

It is learned from eminent counsel that there are but two courses by which the venue in this case can be changed. The defendant may move for a change of venue on the ground that he could not get a fair and impartial trial in Jasper county, or that he would be in imminent danger of violence if brought to trial there. That the defense will offer no such showing is asserted on authority. State's counsel can not move for a change of venue, that being a constitutional right of a defendant alone.

The court may order a change of venue in a case of this kind under certain circumstances. If, for instance, he finds that the temper of the community is so pitched against the defendant that it would be unsafe to the defendant to bring him to trial in the county in which the crime is alleged to have been committed, he may order the trial removed to another county, purely in the interest of saving the defendant from violence and insuring in behalf of the defendant a fair and impartial trial.

Would Serve Notice.

In that case the court would have to serve notice on the defendant and hear from him on the question of electing his place of trial under such circumstances, that is whether he would be tried in the county where the crime is alleged to have been committed, even under showing adverse to him, or whether he would elect for the court to order trial in another county. The constitution guarantees to the defendant, it is declared, the right of trial in the county where the crime is alleged to have been committed, and does not put it in the power of the court to transfer the trial to another county because of the good standing or the strong standing of the defendant in that county, or because of the inability of the state to insure itself the ability to obtain a conviction of the accused elsewhere than where the crime was committed.

Therefore, it is stated on the very highest authority, when the Jasper county cases against Williams are sounded, counsel for the defense not only will resist any suggestion of a change of venue, but will elect to go to trial in Jasper county.

Would Make Appeal.

Then, should the court attempt to force a change to another county—which is not at all probable—the case would assume a different import in that there could not be a trial of any of them before an appeal could be taken to the supreme court on the question of the defendant's constitutional rights, and thereby would be stopped the further progress of any effort to move the cases to another jurisdiction, or to the same jurisdiction in another part of the circuit.

While no announcement has been indicated by any of the court au-

thorities as to when the pending cases against Williams will be taken up, it is learned that the disposition is to await final action on the matter in which Williams already has been convicted before any further step is taken. In other words, that the state will prefer to safeguard its rear before taking up a new attack in the front. That being so, the case of conviction of the murder of Lindsey Peterson and the life sentence, on which motion for a new trial is being made, will have to go through the supreme court before John S. Williams will again be arraigned anywhere.

In the meantime, the indictments against Clyde Manning, the negro will be brought to trial in Newton county, probably during the month of May.

DENIES PEONAGE IS STATEWIDE IN GEORGIA

Federal Official Says Practice Centres in Two or Three

NEW YORK CITY TIMES APRIL 4, 1921

ATLANTA, Ga., April 3.—On the basis of complaints received, peonage in this State is "not widespread in the sense of being State-wide," Vincent Hughes, head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice here, said in a statement tonight. The statement follows:

"This office receives and investigates every complaint of peonage arising in the territory comprising almost the whole State of Georgia. The bulk of our work now is on peonage complaints and there are more of these than all other cases combined. The technical crime of peonage is only committed when involuntary servitude exists on a basis of debts, and many negroes are held in servitude through fear and other coercion, perhaps more so than for debt.

"Judging from the complaints we receive, a far greater part of Georgia is free from the practice, which seems to centre in two or three sore spots where social conditions are less advanced. Most of the peonage victims are country negroes. The tenants usually buy food at the tenant commissaries. I have no hesitation in saying that the number of complaints reaching us concerning negroes of this class has increased markedly lately. I believe that the condition of the cotton market has some effect on the farmers holding last year's crop the temptation to avoid paying out money is very strong, while at the same time they need labor.

"My impression is that the bulk of Georgia white residents are guiltless of intentional violations of the peonage law, just as my experience leads me to believe that the bulk of white citizens are wholehearted back of our efforts to stamp out peonage. Thorough investigations by our agents have found Newton county to be free of peonage."

COVINGTON, Ga., April 3.—Announcement was made by Judge Hutcheson tonight that he would make no request for troops to guard the Court House at the trial, beginning Tuesday, of John S. Williams, prominent Jasper County farmer, charged with murder following the death of eleven negroes whose bodies were found on and near his farm.

Judge Hutcheson said he had the greatest confidence that the law-abiding people of Newton and Jasper Counties would see that nothing improper occurred during the hearing.

Green F. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, was here today conferring with witnesses for the defense. He also visited the Williams farm and made a tour of the sections of Jasper and Newton Counties where the eleven bodies were discovered after Clyde Manning, an employe of Williams, had made a confession and pointed out the graves to officials.

Grand Jury Will Be Asked to Indict Williams, His Three Sons and Manning.

Constitution 4/8/21 TO SEEK TRUE BILL AGAINST MANNING

Believed Williams Will Be Arrested If He Is Cleared of Charges in Newton County.

BY MARION KENDRICK, Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Monticello, Ga., April 7.—(Special.)—When the Jasper county superior court is convened in special session here Monday morning a sweeping investigation into the murders alleged to have been committed in the vicinity of the John S. Williams farm will be started and evidence will be presented to the grand jury to the effect that the prominent planter and his three sons, Marvin, Huland and Leroy Williams, are guilty of the killings, and according to a statement given The Constitution here late tonight by Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell, not only will indictments be

re-sought against all four members of the Williams family, stated the solicitor, but one of the first true bills to be returned will be against Clyde Manning, the negro whose sensational confession resulted in the indictments against his employer in Newton county. With the beginning of the probe Monday, the second chapter in the famous "murder farm" will start and it is believed that should Williams come clear of the three indictments against him in Newton, he will be arrested as he leaves the courthouse and be brought here.

If indictments are returned against any of the Williams boys, their father and Clyde Manning, no arrested as he leaves the courthouse and be brought here.

Charge Against Huland.

One of the murders which will be charged to Huland Williams, it is understood, will be that of a negro by the name of "Blackstrap." It is the death of this negro which started the investigation of federal and county officials into alleged killings on the Jasper county farm. While no definite announcement

will be held until July or August, according to the consensus of opinion here. Greene F. Johnson, who is representing Williams in the Covington trial, will act as counsel for the family in the Jasper county cases, should indictments be returned. Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright will arrive here Monday morning to direct the probe.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

Dalton Ga. Citizen

MARCH 31, 1921

Now for Swift and Summary Justice.

The most revolting crime that has ever been brought to the public gaze in this state is the wholesale murder of eleven negro farm hands on the large plantation of John S. Williams, in Jasper county, a wealthy planter and farmer.

The allegations are to the effect that Mr. Williams had one of his negro hands do the killing; in fact, the negro, Manning, was his chief "knocker," and the "knocking" was done with an ax, after the old-fashioned way of killing hogs. Some of the victims were drowned. So far eight bodies have been found, some of them in the river and some in graves that they had been forced to dig before being murdered.

Swift justice should be meted out to the perpetrators of these horrible and revolting crimes. Says the Rome Tribune-Herald:

The confession of a negro now confined in the Fulton county jail that through the connivance of a white farmer of Jasper county, Georgia, he had been instrumental in the killing of eleven negroes in cold blood furnishes one of the most thrilling chapters in Georgia criminal history.

The fact that the alleged chief criminal is a white man should not affect one jot or tittle the character of the punishment administered. The guilty culprit, whoever he is, be he white or black, should be most vigorously prosecuted, and exactly the same punishment administered as if the victims were white men.

A good opportunity is now being furnished to show the outside world that equal justice is meted out to criminals in this state without regard to race or color. It is a fine chance to show the outside world that the lives of negroes are protected in Georgia, and that the criminal laws will be enforced to the full extent, looking toward that end.

To a certain extent the confession of the negro, Manning, has already been substantiated. The bodies of most of the slain negroes have been found by searchers in the places indicated, and it is altogether possible that the negro's statement is true in every detail. This seems to be one of the most atrocious crimes ever perpetrated in Georgia. It rivals in point of brutality and bloodthirstiness the bloodiest tales of criminal romance.

WORTHY JUDGMENT
The only commendable feature

thus far developed in connection with the wholesale murder situation in Jasper and Newton counties lies in the fact that both judges within whose respective circuits the crimes were committed, Judges Hutcheson and Park, have taken the matter vigorously in hand and ordered the cases tried at once.

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

Delay has always been a serious handicap to justice in Georgia.

By delay of trials, and by postponements, evidence "cools," witnesses die or move away or their memory becomes hazy as to pertinent details, or they may become "influenced" in a way to warp their testimony, then, by the processes of appeal, it too often happens that justice fails altogether, and society loses the protection it has a right to expect from the courts of law.

These two judges have set an example that should be warmly commended. In the perpetrator of these Jasper and Newton county barbarities, undoubtedly somebody is guilty of the most revolting, atrocious and bestial criminality known in Georgia in many years.

Whoever is guilty of these heinous crimes, rich or poor, white or black, as active participant, or instigator, should be made an example that will linger in the memory of the state for a great many years to come, and that will put the world on notice that Georgia knows how to deal with crime!

In these "murder farm" trials not only will those who may be indicted be on trial, but the good name of Georgia will be on trial before the whole country!

At least a good start in the direction of justice has been made by the judges in ordering prompt trials.

Let us hope that the proceedings will be pushed forward with vigor and that the spirit that characterizes the attitude of these two judges in brushing aside the cobwebs of "the law's delay" and in taking steps to at once get at the bottom of the situation, will be continued until the facts are fully revealed and those who are guilty are brought to justice.

MURDERING THE PEONS
Farmer Williams of Jasper county, Georgia, has done more to break up the practice of peonage on farms in the remoter rural districts than any other thing that could have happened. The crime of this "Bluebeard" of barbarism overwhelms in horror and brutality anything that has ever occurred in the criminal annals of this state, and while many people have known the nature of and the circumstances have been such as to make it difficult to convict for it; and most of those who have been charged have escaped punishment, partly in the cleverness in the fear of the victims to give evidence; and too, the offenses have been mild in comparison with the Williams way.

There are other sections of the state where Negroes are practically held in a system of slavery, because being underpaid and always remaining in debt and knowing nowhere and no way to escape their miserable condition, they never are able to leave the plantations where they work.

Dr. Williams, son of the "Bluebeard" of Jasper, indicated this condition a few days ago in protesting the innocence and fair dealing of his accused father; when, among other things, he said: "Following the accusation, my father allowed other Negroes to leave, giving those in debt to him money to pay their railroad fares." Many's the Negro of family, who goes so "sold" by the system which binds him to the owner of the farm on which he "share-crops" that it would be death to himself and destruction of his wife and children to attempt to leave. When he has left or run away, the rural deputy sheriff has gone to the city and brought him back under the sham of charge of debt and without warrant or authority of law in any case. He has never "paid out," because the owner encouraged him to buy beyond the possibility of paying out, and in some cases, has figured sufficiently to always keep him in debt, and unable to change. For to leave a farm while in debt and go to another where conditions might be better, was inconceivable and suicidal.

The Negro's stock and produce is always charged with debt when he desires to move; in many cases it is taken away from him, the mule, the cow and the hogs ordered driven into the lot of the landlord. As we have said, the debts are made by the owner who "keeps the books"; the Negro cannot dispute, or fears to, and must submit. The neighboring Justice of the Peace is always available to give the transaction the "color of law."

Negroes on such farms live in fear to assert their ordinary rights to a fair division of the fruits of their labor. They must accept some provisions, a few new dresses for their children, the use of a mule and buggy on Sundays, and the like for their share. Whenever the landlord has been charged with peonage, these very same victims prove him innocent of the charge, in their fear of telling the truth. Seems unbelievable and inconsistent, but it is true.

Of course, most of the Negroes who suffer in this way are provincial, know no place but their immediate surroundings, do not understand how they may escape the wrath of their oppressors, or the system could not endure. But there are many Negroes thus illiterate and helpless in the rural districts, sparsely settled. Moreover, it would seem that the raw and undeveloped remoter sections bring out the lower and purely animal instincts of men, and hence these places breed disorders and the rule of force like the Jasper county affair. Removed from the finer influences of more highly developed and specialized living, men appear to revert to type and conduct.

The Williams case if properly handled is going a long way toward breaking up the horrors which beset the inoffensive, primitive peoples of the hinterlands of Georgia. The good people who have doubted that there were such unenlightened places and such depraved practices and people, may take more notice. They who have lived their lives in the larger cities or at most, have visited only the progressive rural towns, can scarcely believe the conditions above told could exist.

Judge Henry C. Hammond of Augusta admitted the other day that he was astounded at the horrors he discovered from the lips of the perpetrator himself, and said he otherwise could not have believed them. In this instance, a Negro prisoner had been flogged nearly to death by the jailor, himself, and had been strung up and threatened with hanging by white inmates of the jail in which they all were incarcerated. Hooper Alexander, the distinguished district attorney, could hardly be charged with slandering the people of the state when he told of the horrors of Hall and adjoining counties. Another distinguished citizen, less than fifty miles from Savannah, acknowledges he fears to raise his voice at the assassination and oppression of the Negroes of his section, by or at the instance of whites. Here too, it appears the responsible parties and beneficiaries work their crimes through Negroes as Williams did through Manning.

If there ever were reasons for interference in state affairs by the national government they seem to be abundant now.

Peonage, Ku Kluxism and lynching reprehensible, noisome and barbarous are on the increase and there is no movement to rid the state and South of them.

Yea, the Negro who lives in the city is fortunate.

ROME GA. NEWS
APRIL 5, 1921
GEORGIA ON TRIAL.

The state of Georgia went on trial this morning at the little town of Covington.

Attorneys for the state are prosecuting John S. Williams.

a wealthy land owner of Jasper county, who has been accused of murdering or causing the murder of 11 negroes said to have been held in a state of peonage on his plantation. This man Williams may not be guilty. The principles of justice in a free country give him the benefit of any doubt that may exist. He is to be considered innocent until he has been convicted by a jury of his peers.

If he is innocent, his acquittal will not acquit the state of Georgia, for the murder of the 11 negroes will remain unavenged, yet we know too well that they were atrociously slain by somebody. Somebody must be convicted and the severest penalty provided by the criminal laws of the state applied. Before Georgia may raise her eyes from the droop of shame that is now upon them.

That the victims of the crime were ignorant, black men, is all the greater reason for their murder to be avenged. Their very ignorance made them wards of civilization. Their defenselessness made them all the more subject to the protection of a mighty and proud commonwealth.

Georgia is on trial today. Only the avenging of a crime that was as atrocious as the butcheries of the Turks in the state of Georgia against Negroes, we have no knowledge of the unearthing of such a systematic series as was this ogie in the counties mentioned. True, lynchings and other murders have occurred in far too great a number. Malicious practices have been perpetrated against Negroes even in the very best counties of the state. There has not, however, been discovered, a system of murders so mathematically calculated and so perfectly executed

From Over

and dexteriously secreted as this series has proved to be. In fact it was a mere circumstance that the end of the coil of infamy was discovered, and it appears to have been a dint of providence that the thread was pulled and the ghastly finds attached, were unearthed. "Murder will out," after all, must be the solution. "A voice from the tomb," unsilenced the tongue of Manning. He spoke. It was suicidal to do so, because by doing so he incriminates himself and, most probably,

the negro about his own neck and hangs himself. But there was "no escape but suicide and suicide is confession."

These were dastardly revelations preceeded by a diabolism unparalleled in the annals of modern acts of baseness. Manning was a subservient tool, in the hands, apparently, of a veritable demon to satisfy whose diabolical lust for gain, imprisonment involuntary was not enough. Tread upon a worm and it will squirm. But whenever the slightest rebellion against his base methods and practices were manifested, the Negro was at once "manning ed," it is stated, by orders of Williams. The two arch perpetrators of these dastardly deeds are trapped—but—

"Who ever wrecked or how or when, The prowling fox was trapped or slain?"

AS A "HORRIBLE EXAMPLE," Under the caption, "Georgia As an Object Lesson," The Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News bitterly excoriates Georgia for the discredit that has been heaped upon the southern states by revolting reports of crime, murder, peonage and wholesale bunco grafting, recently emanating from this state.

Similar editorials are appearing from day to day in other southern newspapers, all reflected in the following comment from The Greensboro News—

"Georgia threatens to become a monstrosity, threatens to derogate from her proud position as one of the American states, in the very forefront of civilization, and sink to the level of such semi-barbarous countries as Albania and Bulgaria."

"But the appalling consideration, to North Carolinians, is the unquestionable fact that Georgia was originally composed of the same sort of people as North Carolina. What Georgia has done, North Carolina is capable of. No matter how low she falls, it is in our make-up to plunge as far. Let us neglect popular education, as Georgia has done; let us make a mockery of courts and justice, and trust to the masked mob and the lyncher's rope, as Georgia has done; let us grow insolent in our own ignorance and conceit, as Georgia has done; and we shall reproduce in North Carolina every horror that has occurred in Georgia."

"Leaving the common people and the negroes in gross ignorance and truckling to the passions of the mob are two vices that will destroy any state. North Carolina is not altogether free of them, and the first the supreme duty, of every North Carolinian who loves his state is to use every resource that God has given him to purify the atmosphere of these obscene breaths from the mouth of hell."

Newspapers from coast to coast, throughout the north, east and west, are daily printing news stories, editorials and cartoons bearing upon the atrocities that have been brought to light in connection with peonage and the wholesale murders of negroes in Jasper and Newton counties; but they do not center their fire of criticism and denunciation upon Georgia in particular, but upon the south.

Naturally, other states of the south resent this. They vehemently resent being stigmatized by the press of the country for conditions which they say applies only to Georgia.

In other words, the country is pointing the finger of scorn at "the south," and in self-defense our sister states of the south are pointing the finger of scorn at Georgia.

Surely, surely it is high time for the decent sentiment of Georgia to assert itself and to insist upon a general clearing up of an ugly and disgraceful situation, the existence of which is bringing not only the state, but the whole south into disrepute.

Editorial
A HELPERLY ATTITUDE.
That the so-called "race problem" is distinctly a southern problem, and that the south is demonstrating its willingness and ability to handle it all the better without external interference, is the position taken by The Boston Globe in an editorial on "Its Own Business," which we reproduce elsewhere upon this page.

What is taking place in Georgia today, says The Globe, reference being to the efforts that are under way to put an end to peonage and mob brutality is simply "the south's minding its own business," and the progress that is being made is "far from discouraging."

In this connection, the reports of peonage in Georgia have undoubtedly been grossly exaggerated in the comment of outside newspapers. The cases that have been uncovered by the diligent efforts of the officers of the law are bad enough, but they are few, and in every instance the county in which they have occurred has taken prompt action to bring the offenders to justice.

The very activity of the state courts has attracted such widespread attention, and such favorable comment, as to lend color to the impression that the offense is far more extensively practiced than is true.

The grand jury of the United States federal court at Macon in bringing in indictments against Williams and his three boys, of Jasper county, very properly says:

"Of the peonage cases brought to the attention of this body, it is found that in only one or two instances was there sufficient evidence to warrant this body finding a true bill."

"Further, that this body deplores and denounces any condition of peonage wherever it is found to exist and further deplores the fact that there have been so many unwarranted rumors of conditions of peonage in the state of Georgia where evidence brought out shows conclusively that they do not exist."

The editor and publisher of The Globe is General Charles H. Taylor, a distinguished union veteran, whose voice for the last fifty years has always been one of sympathy for the south and of friendly co-operation in the effort to have the sections better understand each other.

The Globe has never been a captious critic of the south, on the other hand General Taylor has always taken the position that infinitely more could be gained by tolerance and co-operation than by criticism.

This position is in striking contrast with that taken by many northern newspapers which were quick to seize upon the Jasper-Newton developments as a pretext upon which to castigate and malign the south.

Such friendly advice and encouraging counsel as that given by The Globe will go much farther in effecting a solution of the problems referred to than vicious criticism and the manifestation of sectional bitterness and antagonism.

General Taylor is right in his position that the better thought of both races in the south are, by working together, solving these problems.

Both races are equally interested in good citizenship, the basis of which is justice and fair dealing.

The lower the level of the negro the more adverse is the effect upon the white race, because there is a common meeting place, between the two races in matters of health, sanitation, and at many other points of interdependence at which the two races will always and inevitably come in contact.

By lifting the negro to a higher standard of citizenship, inspiring him with a more thorough realization of his obligations as a human being and a citizen, just to that extent the white race elevates the general standard of citizenship, and serves the public accordingly.

There are many problems that may now seem perplexing that can be solved by the simple process of mutual understanding and co-operation. Splendid work to this end is being done by the Inter-Racial committee movement, which is now operating in practically every southern community, and the value of whose work is of inestimable importance to the whole south.

If more men and more newspaper of the north approached the discussion of this subject in the admirable spirit of General Taylor and his great newspaper, real assistance would be rendered in solving this problem.

VALDOSTA GA. TIMES
APRIL 12, 1921

MERCY FOR WILLIAMS

The Newton county jury returned a verdict against John Williams of guilty of murder, but recommended him to mercy. That was in the trial of the case in which he was accused of the murder of one of eleven negroes who are said to have been killed at his command. The jury may have had many reasons for asking that mercy be shown him. It may be that there was some doubt upon the minds of the jurors—not enough to acquit him of the murder, but sufficient to make the jury hesitate to inflict the extreme penalty.

Then again, the jury may have realized that he is to be tried for other cases of the same sort. Other jurors are to consider the evidence against him. That being the case, the first jury could easily shift the responsibility from their own shoulders to the next jury to take up the case. There is nearly always some man on a jury who is against capital punishment when it comes to inflicting it himself. The imposing of the extreme penalty is a courageous act upon the part of jurors and it is hard to find one that will measure to full strength in that particular.

If the jurors felt, deep down in their hearts, that Williams was responsible for killing of the negro whose death is charged to him, it is difficult to understand the recommendation of mercy unless his sanity was questioned. It is a triumph though, for law that he should have been convicted at all, under the circumstances.

WILLIAMS DENIES HE ORDERED DEATH OF HIS EMPLOYEES

Constitution 3/26/21
Prominent Jasper County Farmer Says There Is Not the Slightest Truth in Manning's Statement.

LAND LINES AND STOCK CAUSE, HE DECLARES

Says All His Troubles Have Been Result of Controversy With the Leverett Family.

A smoldering feud between the Leverett and Williams families, rivaling those of Kentucky; charges of a "frame-up to break Williams' neck in the federal court," and a story of frequent clashes between the two factions, were all disclosed Friday night in the denial of John Williams, wealthy Jasper county farmer now held in the Fulton Tower under indictment for murder, of the confession of Clyde Manning, colored, involving him in the killing of eleven negroes.

For more than a month the finding of three negro bodies in the Yellow river, near Covington, has puzzled state, county and federal officials, and the confession of Manning that he had knocked four negroes in the head with an ax in one week and helped drown others at the command of Williams, was the first light thrown on the mystery.

This confession was made Thursday before the Newton county grand jury. Both Manning and Williams were indicted for murder and rushed here for safe keeping. Newton county officials, arrived here with Manning and Clyde Freeman, held as a material witness, Thursday night. Williams was placed in the Tower Friday afternoon, where he discussed the charges against him with a Constitution reporter last night.

"It's All a Lie."
"It's all a lie," he declared when

asked if the charges made by Manning were true. "This trouble all began six or seven years ago and was caused by controversies over land lines and live stock. Mrs. M. Leverett and her 3 sons, Dave, Tom and Roy, own a farm adjacent to mine. They claimed I had part of their land, and since then arguments over stock have occurred.

"In any negroes have been killed by Manning it was under the orders of the Leveretts and not mine. It's all a frame-up between these boys to break my neck in the federal courts," he continued. "It is true that I have secured some negroes from jail. I have bailed them out just as other farmers, and I have paid them salaries. There has been nothing illegal in such transactions of mine."

Williams was asked if there had been any recent trouble between the two families.

"Yes," he replied. "Last fall they (the Leverett boys) charged my boys with having reported a still to county officials and a shooting scrape almost resulted from that. Not long ago Dave Leverett and I had a fight and it was after this that they threatened to 'break our necks' in the negro charges.

Defense by Williams.

"If I had killed the negroes, I wouldn't have carried them 14 miles away to dump them in a river, but would have placed them in the river near my farm, where I know the depth," he continued.

"Manning's statement is a positive lie. I never shot one of the negroes, nor ordered him to hit four of them in the head, and neither did I haul six of them to points on the Yellow river, where they were drowned 'like cats,' as the federal courts.

Williams appears unconcerned against him, and declares he will "come clear." He asserts that he has friends in several counties and can prove that Manning's statements are not true. His large plantation is located almost midway between Covington and Monticello, in Jasper county, near the Newton county line.

"I am 54 years old; married and have 12 children. I have never been arrested before in my life, and I am going to prove I am not guilty of these charges. Greene Johnson and W. H. Key, of Monticello, have been employed as my counsel and will arrive soon to take charge of the case," he said.

Repeats Confession.

Manning repeated his sensational confession Friday after he had been lodged in the Fulton county Tower. He described how he had killed five of the negroes and helped drown six others, acting in each instance, he claimed, under orders of his employer. For 15 years he has resided on the Williams farm, he asserted, and there are a number of negroes

being held in peonage there, he said.

"I knocked four negroes in the head with an ax and one week and buried them in a pasture back of Mr. Williams' house," declared Manning.

"Why did I do it? Because the boss said he wanted to get rid of them negroes and that if I didn't make 'em disappear, he'd kill me. And I knew he meant what he said.

"Charlie Chisholm, another one of Mr. Williams' trusty negroes, put in a little work—he killed one suspicious negro by braining him with an ax. Then, a little later Mr. Williams got uneasy about Chisholm and made me get him. Me and Mr. Williams took him to the river one night and pitched him off the bridge after we weighted him down. Charlie begged hard, but Mr. Williams said: 'Let's throw him over and have it over with.'

Helped Drown Six.

"I don't know how many negroes there are in the river, but I helped Mr. Williams to drown six, including Charlie Chisholm. We took the other five to the river at night, after getting them out of their houses, and chained 'em down with rocks and threw 'em in," he continued.

"Yes, sir, they all cried and begged—and some of 'em asked to be knocked in the head before being thrown in, but Mr. Williams wouldn't do it and wouldn't let me do it—we just threw them off the bridge and rode on back to the plantation.

Most of the drowned negroes came off the farm of Mr. Huyler Williams—my boss' son. But a few of the ones Mr. Williams called 'bad' and wanted done away with came off of his own farm.

"Most of these dead negroes was originally from Atlanta, Macon, or somewhere else—they didn't come from Jasper county. Mr. Huyler Williams, the son of my boss, would go to Atlanta and Macon and get the negroes out of the stockade by paying their fines. I used to hear him and his father talking about all that.

"Well, they brought the negroes to the farm and put 'em to work, and kept guards over 'em all the time so as not to let 'em get away or talk too much. I don't know whether they got any pay or not—I know Mr. Williams paid me \$20 a month and board," the negro asserted.

"Of course, mister. I'm sorry I knocked all them boys in the head and helped Mr. Williams do away with them others, but there wasn't nothing else I could do—the boss told me if I didn't do as he said, I would be the next dead negro around there. I admits I have always been mighty afraid of Mr. Williams.

"When he got ready to kill a negro, he would come to me and say, 'Clyde, I'm scared of that negro.' Then he would tell me what he wanted done, and being as I was working for him and couldn't get away myself, I had to go ahead and do it."

Conference Is Held.

Solicitor-General A. M. Brand and other officials held a conference with Governor Hugh M. Dorsey relative to the case Friday afternoon, but the chief executive refused to give out what transpired other than the latest developments in the case were discussed.

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

Agents of the department of justice who have been investigating the peonage charges for the past several weeks were still in Jasper and Newton county last night, but Vincent Hughes, chief of the local bureau, stated that he had received instructions from headquarters in Washington to make a complete probe.

At present the activities of the agents are centered in Jasper and Newton counties for the reason that Manning declared that some of the killings occurred in each of them. The governor denied that any request for a declaration of martial law in Jasper had been received even though the situation is regarded serious.

BURIED BODIES OF 9 NEGROES ARE UNEARTHED

advertiser 3/27/21

Jasper County Farmers Charged With Ordering Death and Burial of Eleven Negroes Alleged to Have Been Held in Peonage

CONFESSION OF NEGRO LEADS TO DISCOVERY

Farmer Held With Directing "Wholesale Murders" Declares Case Worked Up Because of An Old Family Feud in Section

3/27/21

ATLANTA, GA., March 26—Disclosures that will surpass developments already made in the alleged Jasper county peonage case were promised today by authorities following the discovery of the bodies of five negroes buried near the home of John Williams, a prominent Jasper county farmer, and the recovery of the body of another negro in the Yellow river.

With the six bodies unearthed yesterday under the direction of Clyde Manning, who was taken to the scene to substantiate his alleged confession that he had killed four of the negroes and added in the death of others at the direction of Williams a total of nine of the eleven negroes said to have been killed have been found by officials.

Under the protection of a posse of fifteen men, and the guidance of the negro, a number of men searched for the bodies today near Williams' home and in the Yellow river while the Jackson company of the National Guard was held under arms ready to go to the scene in case of opposition.

Before the search began, Williams' three sons, Julius, Huland and Marvin, were arrested and placed in the county jail on warrants issued at the request of county Solicitor Brand and Governor Dorsey.

Williams is held in the Fulton county jail here having been arrested after Manning's alleged confession. He today denied his guilt and declared that an old family feud had resulted in a "frame up" to cause his arrest.

Reports from Jasper county tonight stated that sentiment was strong against Williams, owner of the plantation where the wholesale murders are alleged to have been committed. According to department of justice investigators, who worked with the officials of Jasper and Newton counties, Williams' employees were referred to as "Williams' chain gang", who were ruled with iron discipline and seldom permitted to leave the place.

A two-room cabin on the Williams farm today was pointed out as the "stockade" where the negroes were locked up at night. The windows were barred and the three doors chained at night, it was stated, but in the day time these were removed, making the house look like an ordinary cabin.

Both county and federal forces will continue the investigation, it is said, in an effort to develop whether other crimes had been committed prior to the deaths of the negroes whose bodies already have been recovered.

Warrants for three sons of Williams, Julius, Huler and Marvin, were taken out in Fulton county yesterday at the request of Governor Dorsey and were to have been turned over to officers in Jasper county, but reports tonight from Montezuma, Georgia, stated that the Williams boys were there, but had not been placed under arrest.

Of the bodies recovered today three were found in a pasture near the Williams house during the morning. In the afternoon, it was stated, the negro Manning led the party to the Campbell farm, about five miles southwest of the Williams place, where two more bodies were disinterred. The Campbell farm is said to be under the management of the Williams.

The sixth body recovered today was taken from the river near the Waters bridge. These six, together with those recovered from Yellow river several days ago weighted down with rocks makes a total of nine bodies accounted for to date.

Belief was expressed tonight that all the victims had been killed at the Williams place since February 21 when agents of the department of justice visited the farm during an investigation of alleged peonage in that vicinity. Williams is a cousin of Sheriff Persons of Jasper county, at present under indictment for alleged peonage. It developed today that information also has been filed with the United States attorney here against Williams relative to peonage charges. Manning, the negro whose confession led to the revelation on the Williams farm, was brought back to Atlanta tonight and placed in the Fulton county jail.

Two Bodies Recovered From River Chained Together and Sacks of Stones and Iron Attached to Head and Feet;

Coroner's Inquest Conducted by Numbers

MONTICELLO, GA., March 27.—Two more bodies were recovered from the Alcovy river here today, making a total of eleven bodies that have been found in connection with peonage investigations that have been conducted on the farm of John Williams.

The bodies found today were chained together and weighted down with sacks of stones and iron attached to the head and feet.

A coroner's jury investigating the deaths of six negroes whose bodies were found buried and the three others found in the river, fixed the responsibility in each case. In two instances at least, the jury found that the negroes were forced to dig their own graves.

The bodies were disinterred, placed in coffins and late today were brought to the Jasper county pauper's cemetery, the county paying the expense.

The coroner's jury conducted the inquest by numbers. The first inquest was over John Williams, same name as the plantation owner, whose grave was dug by himself. The jury was informed that the negro was sent to a pasture in a ravine not far from a creek to dig a post hole. After digging the hole, Manning's confession shows that he struck Williams over the head with an axe, pushed the body into the hole and covered it up.

Johnny Green was number 2. He was sent to the same pasture to bring cows back to the stable. Manning says he killed Green in the same way, but had to dig the grave.

Willie Givens was referred to as number 3. He was killed on his way to a country store, in the same ravine, but Charlie Chisholm was named as the negro who killed Givens.

The jury traveled four miles across the country to the Campbell plantation, also operated by John Williams. Fletcher Smith, body number 4 was found there. Smith was sent to dig a well and when he had dug deep enough to receive his body, Manning's confession, as repeated to the jury, showed that he killed him with an axe and then covered up the hole.

Verdict in the case of number 1, John Williams, was that Williams met death at the hands of Manning, the plantation owner, Williams, being implicated by the jury's verdict.

The same verdict was returned in the case of number 2, Johnny Green.

In the case of number 3, Willie Givens, the jury held that Chisholm did the killing.

In number 4 and 5, Fletcher Smith and "Big John" Manning again was held responsible.

In the cases of numbers 7 and 8 "Little Bit," and John Brown, the jury held that the negroes, Manning and Chisholm and John Williams, the plantation owner, were responsible.

The verdict for number 6, Charley Chisholm, read "we the jury find that Charley Chisholm met his death at the hands of Clyde Manning, and John S. Williams."

Williams came from near Forsyth, in Monroe County, 27 years ago. Reports that followed him here indicate that his home and other buildings on his plantation in Monroe county were destroyed by fire at that time.

Around March 1 two department of justice agents, A. J. Wisner and E. S. Chastain, came to Jasper county to investigate alleged peonage practices on the Williams plantation. They called on Williams, among others, but it is said that Williams gave a satisfactory explanation.

At that time Williams is said to have had only twelve negroes. The special agents went to the farm of Hulon Williams, a son of John Williams, where they are said to have seen three or four negroes at work and Leroy Williams, a son, is said to have been guarding the negroes with a gun after the three sons of Williams were said to have been sent away from the plantation for three weeks.

It was after they left, the negroes said, that the bodies were disposed of.

When Williams was before the grand jury it developed Manning was in the court house at Covington telling all that he knew of the killings. It is Manning's information that has led to the discovery of the bodies, the indictments and other developments. And Manning says that it was through fear that Chisholm might give this information that Chisholm was put out of the way.

PROBE WILL CONTINUE (Associated Press)

ATLANTA, GA., March 27.—With two more bodies recovered from the Alcovy river on the Williams farm in Jasper county today the list of negroes alleged to have been killed by John Williams, the owner of the plantation and Clyde Manning, a negro employee was increased to eleven and investigations will be continued by county officials and federal authorities inquiring into alleged peonage cases, to ascertain whether there are other victims.

An inquest held today over eight of the bodies resulted in a verdict declaring the negroes came to their deaths at the hands of the negro Clyde Manning and naming Williams as an accessory. Both Williams and the negro are under arrest and held in the county jail at Atlanta.

Solicitor Campbell of Newton county late today made a request on Governor Dorsey for the appointment of Attorney General Denny to take charge of the investigations in Newton and Jasper counties. It was also announced

by Judge J. B. Park of the Ocmulgee circuit that he was awaiting the governor's orders to call a special term of the Jasper county superior court, being advised not to issue a call for a special grand jury until further conferences with the chief executive. It was announced tonight by the governor that the three sons of John Williams, Julius, Huland, and Marvin would be placed under arrest on the charge of murder in connection with the deaths of the negroes on the Williams farm.

Although the superior court or Newton county is already in session and has a heavy criminal docket this week, Sheriff B. L. Johnson of Covington said tonight he would urge Judge John B. Hutcheson tomorrow to call a special term and place both Williams and Manning on trial for murder at the earliest possible date.

While more than 200 persons on the Walter's bridge, spanning the broad Alcovy river, 14 miles from Covington and watched the search for the two remaining victims told of by Manning in his confession was begun early this morning. The news that five of the bodies had been unearthed and another found in the river brought hundreds of people to the scene of the search today.

So crowded was the bridge that traffic became almost impossible and automobiles were parked on opposite sides of the bridge as the dredging was in progress.

Two boats with four men dredged for the two missing bodies, circling the area of the river just under the bridge where Manning declared they had been thrown by "me, Mr. Johnny and Charlie Chisholm". For five hours they searched in vain but at noon one of the hooks caught on an obstacle and after much effort it was towed to the bank. Then the dredge was slowly hauled in by the deputies and in it was found the figures of two men bound together with chains and wire and so badly decomposed identification was impossible.

HUNT FOR 29 MORE NEGRO PEONS SLAIN ON GEORGIA FARMS

Two of Victims Are Said to Have Dug Their Own Graves.

N Y C EVEN WOR
MARCH 28, 1921

11 BODIES ARE FOUND.

Grand Jury to Take Up Investigation of Killings and Governor Asked to Aid.

MACON, Ga., March 28.—Search is being continued to-day for more bodies of negroes who are believed to have been killed on the farms operated by John S. Williams, near Monticello. Eleven bodies have been found thus far, the latest being two dragged from the Alcovy River, where they had been sunk in forty feet of water.

The total corresponds with the number stated in the confession of Clyde Manning, who told the authorities that he had aided Williams in the murders. He admitted that he had killed five of the men himself by hitting them in the head with an axe. The bodies were found at the places indicated in the confession. Two of them are said to have dug their own graves. One report is to the effect that twenty-nine bodies are yet concealed.

Stirred by the revelations the authorities have turned the matter over to the Grand Jury, which meets here this week, and there is a determination to make a sweeping inquiry into the whole peonage question. Gov. Dorsey has been asked to place the matter in charge of the Attorney General.

The bodies of four negroes buried on the Williams plantation and two buried on the Campbell place, also operated by Williams, were disinterred yesterday by a gang of five negro convicts, and all were placed in separate coffins provided by Jasper County. They were later reburied in the pauper cemetery near here.

All the negroes wore shoes that were soled with automobile casings, the same as in the case of the three negroes found in the Yellow River two weeks ago. The automobile casing soles appear, in the opinion of county officials, to have been a sort of mark of identification used by Williams to keep tab of his negro employees.

The bodies found in the Alcovy River were those of a man known as "Little Bit" and John Brown. They were chained together and weighted down with sacks of rock and iron attached to their heads and feet. Efforts to recover these bodies previously failed, because the drag hooks broke.

The Coroner's Jury expressed the opinion that both these negroes were thrown into the river alive.

The two bodies were within four feet of the point where the body of Charley Chisholm was found on Saturday. Charley was a "trusty" on the Williams plantation, according to Manning.

Information of a startling nature was disclosed before Coroner Thad Cheeks and his jury at the inquest over the eight bodies found in this county. It has intensified the feeling against Williams, but there was nothing brought out in the investigation

that implicates the three sons of Williams in the killings; hence the warrants for their arrest were returned to the Governor's office in Atlanta. Williams now is in jail pending the result of the investigation.

Williams worked 150 plows, planted 4,000 acres of land, and was one of the most prosperous men in the county.

At the inquest held over eight of the bodies a verdict was returned declaring the negroes came to their death at the hands of Manning

and naming Williams as an accessory. The Coroner's Jury conducted the inquest by numbers. The first inquest was over John Williams, same

name as the plantation owner, whose grave, it is alleged, was dug by himself. The jury was informed that the

negro was sent to a pasture in a ravine to dig a post hole. After digging the hole, Manning's confession is

said to show that he struck Williams over the head with an axe, pushed the

body into the hole and covered it up. Johnny Green was number two. He

was sent to the same pasture to bring cows back to the stable. Manning is

said to have confessed that he killed Green in the same way, but had to dig the grave.

William Givens was referred to as number three. He was said to have been killed on his way to a country store, in the same ravine, but Charley

Chisholm was named as the negro who killed Givens.

Fletcher Smith, body No. 4, was sent to dig a well and when he had dug deep enough to receive his body,

Manning's confession, as repeated to the jury, showed he killed him with an axe and buried him in the hole.

In Case No. 5, known as "Big John," Manning was held responsible.

In the cases of Numbers 7 and 8 "Little Bit" and John Brown, the jury held that the negroes Manning and

Chisholm and John Williams, the plantation owner, were responsible.

The verdict for Number 6—Charley Chisholm, read "we, the jury, find that Charley Chisholm met his death at the hands of Clyde Manning and John S. Williams."

Around March 1, two Department of Justice Agents, A. U. Wisner and E. S. Chastain, came to Jasper County to investigate alleged peonage practices on the Williams plantation. They called on Williams, among others, but it is said, that Williams gave a satisfactory explanation of his methods.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions.

N. Y. C. COMMERCIAL
APRIL 12, 1921

THE GEORGIA PEONAGE MURDERS

Strange things happen in Georgia. Northern people cannot quite comprehend how the planter Williams, just convicted of slaying a number of negroes working on his plantation, could wield such power, or why such conditions of virtual slavery exist. These murders are the result of a vicious system of hiring out prisoners by the State to work out their terms of imprisonment. The law officers are paid on the fee system, which the better class of citizens of the State have been trying to do away with for some time.

The officers, instead of being paid salaries, collect fees for the arrest and imprisonment of offenders, who are compelled to work out these costs by being hired out by the State. The result is graft and abuse, and a condition only one degree removed from actual slavery. Negroes especially, are gathered in for trifling offenses and given long sentences. Their "board" while awaiting trial, as well as other "expenses," are charged against them, and they have no definite idea of when their terms are

ended.
N. Y. C. GLOBE

APRIL 13, 1921

THE BETTER SOUTH.

Something definite and encouraging seems to be happening in Georgia with regard to the Negro question. Last Saturday a white jury found it possible to convict J. S. Williams, a white planter, of the murder of one of his Negro tenants. Yesterday Williams was indicted for the murder of eight other Negroes, and Governor Dorsey announced that the prosecution of these cases represented only the beginning of a campaign to stamp out peonage in Georgia.

This is evidence of a different south at work from the intimidating, lynching, and burning mob which so often seems to act for the southeastern quarter of the country. The south which convicted Williams has made a definite move to protect the Negro. Associating the Williams trial with a growing body of editorial comment and communal action in southern states, one can see emerging a new southern attitude toward the Negro which seems the most powerful existing influence working toward a solution of difficulties between white and colored groups. In Birmingham, Ala., abortive efforts at lynching have been severely condemned by the white press. "Some of the best people in the world live in Birmingham, white and black," said the Birmingham News recently. "We are not going to have any lynchings to disgrace this city." In Richmond white and colored women are coöperating in caring for the poor. At Louisville, Ky., mixed gatherings held within the last year have adopted programmes for the protection of the Negro. At Greenville, Miss., Atlanta, Ga., and other southern cities the whites have discussed colored emigration with Negro leaders and showed a willingness to coöperate to improve the condition of the Negro.

The seeds of this attitude are undoubtedly as old as the presence of the black race in America. The Negro has always had intelligent white friends in the south. During the period following the civil war it is not surprising that they produced no effective liberal action. A slave race does not recover from its slavery in a day,

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm

nor does a race of former masters reconcile itself at once to sharing economic and political privileges with one-time servitors. But the salvation of the south has lain all the time chiefly in the south, and if the states with large Negro populations were to go forward it was bound to be through intelligent action which reconciled the practical position of the Negro with the rights legally accorded him. This action is at last apparently making headway. The brains of the white south are getting control of the Negro problem; the better classes are coming forward to lead instead of the rabble. The change is significant for the entire nation. It not only presages better feeling between Negroes and whites, but promises a gradual reconciliation of ideas between certain groups of whites on one question about which there has been no more mutual understanding than between two men without a common language.

N. Y. C. WORLD

APRIL 13, 1921

GEORGIA JUSTICE.

When last Saturday, in the State of Georgia, a white man was convicted of the murder of a negro on the testimony of another negro, it was for that section a remarkable triumph of justice over race prejudice.

But it was found impossible to send the perpetrator of this fiendishly callous murder to the gallows, where he belongs and where he would undoubtedly swing had his victim been white instead of black. Therein justice still remained uneven-handed.

Fortunately, as the Governor of Georgia says, Williams is still to be tried for the murders of other negroes, and if found guilty "there is still ample opportunity for the enforcement of the extreme penalty."

It is not a pleasant duty to advocate death for any human being, but The World earnestly hopes that if Williams is found guilty of any of these additional murders the penalty fixed by the law for such atrocious crimes as his will be inflicted upon him. For if ever there was a man who served as justification for capital punishment Williams is that man.

N. Y. C. OUTLOOK

APRIL 20, 1921

PEONAGE AND MURDER

THE horror of the accounts of the murder of several Negroes—the number placed as high as eleven—on a farm twenty miles from Covington, in Georgia, has attracted public attention to the general question of so-called "peonage" in the South. However bad the practice under the laws of Georgia and other Southern States may be, it needs hardly be pointed out that atrocious wholesale murder is not one of the necessary results of peonage. It is true, however, if the facts are as stated by the public press, that the brutal and sickening murder of these Negroes had

its inception in an effort on the part of the white men carrying on a farm under

forced labor conditions to conceal from Federal agents illegal acts they had committed against these very peonage laws.

Strictly speaking, the word "peonage" means the "illegal holding of a man in personal bondage for debt." Practically speaking, the peonage practiced in the South does not conform to this definition. One thing is perfectly evident. It is that if such laws are to exist it is the plain duty of the State or local community to keep a watchful eye on the manner in which this kind of "peonage" agreement is carried out. There should

be a most thorough system of inspection of all farms and industries where Negroes are put out to labor in this fashion. There may be an open question as to the desirability or utter wrongness of the system, but whatever view is taken as to that, it is simple humanity to prevent abuses under the law and violations of the law. Such an occurrence as these cold-blooded murders ought not to be possible in any civilized community.

In the present instance the Georgia authorities acted swiftly. The white man accused of these crimes was brought promptly to trial. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of mercy, which automatically requires a sentence of life imprisonment.

GEORGIA'S DEATH FARM

CHAINED AND WEIGHTED NEGRO BODIES, some dragged with grappling-hooks from two Georgia rivers and others recovered from shallow graves on an adjoining plantation, reveal a condition of peonage "so astounding as to be almost unbelievable," as the near-by Atlanta Constitution puts it. At least two of the unfortunate victims were compelled to dig their own graves, according to a confession by their slayer, himself a negro peon who "ain't had more than fifty cents at one time for a year." His white master, he is reported by the Macon Telegraph as saying, was accustomed to secure negroes from city jails and detention stockades by paying their fines for minor offenses. They then were taken to the plantation near Monticello and kept in a state of virtual slavery, we are told. "Simon Legree is outclassed by this character in real life," says The Telegraph in effect, "and it verily seems that there is just as much of a slave system to be broken up now as even in the day of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe."

Broadly defined, peonage as it is known in the South includes any means whereby a negro in involuntary servitude. That the Governor admits peonage exists in Georgia, and declares it must stop, and that "90 per cent. of the State's population are back of him," is reported by Rowland Thomas, the New York World's special correspondent. In the words of the Atlanta Journal, the perpetrator or perpetrators of the murder of eleven negroes on the farm in Jasper County must be unsparingly punished regardless of wealth, position, or race," and its neighbor, The Constitution, agrees that "it is now for the Courts to sift this matter to the very bottom and ascertain exactly where the guilt lies." The Greenville (S. C.) Piedmont declares that "this horrible shambles is as revolting to the people of the South as to any other, and it is their hope and desire that those guilty of this fiendish outrage shall speedily pay for it with their lives." We are told in another Macon Telegraph editorial that:

"Department of Justice agents visited the Williams farm on or about March 1, this year, to make investigations of certain

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PROPAGANDA—POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE.

Before the Great War "propaganda" was not a generally used word. During the war it was on everybody's lips. Perhaps the American Negro has come to realize that for general usage propaganda is a new word but is an old idea. Perhaps he has come to realize that propaganda is the thing he has been up against for a couple of hundred years.

There are two sorts of propaganda, positive and negative. Both sorts have been used against the American Negro, but I believe that the negative sort is the more deadly.

Positive propaganda has been indulged in by writers who have tried to prove that the Negro is a beast and a brute, a human being in shape only, without soul or brain. It has been indulged in by such political blackguards as Tillman and Vardaman, who have openly proclaimed that the Negro should be accorded no rights, should not be educated and allowed to rise. Propaganda of this sort creates sentiment in no minds except those of the lowest order, because these overstatements can be so easily disproved. When the propagandist states that the Negro is a brute and has no brain, and on top of the statement some Negro writes a fine poem, paints a beautiful picture, gives a remarkable theatrical performance, or wins distinction in one of the great universities, the statement of the propagandist is knocked into a cocked hat.

The sort of propaganda that hurts us most is the negative sort. This is the kind of propaganda that begins on humanitarian grounds and ends up by damning the Negro with faint praise or by putting in so many "buts" and "however's" that it damns him without any praise. This sort of propaganda is in full tilt against us at the present time. The old-fashioned sort does not count for much any longer. This negative propaganda is indulged in not only by our enemies but by those who, at least, think that they are our friends. Many a white person who every year gives a considerable sum of money "to help the Negroes" is in this latter class. But the chief propagandists of this school are the writers with anti-Negro sentiments who are on the staffs of northern daily newspapers. Most of these writers are southerners.

Now, it did not just happen that these southern writers got jobs on northern newspapers. The whole thing was planned and worked out.

It appears that there is a negative propagandist of this kind on the Philadelphia "Inquirer." An editorial in that paper on the terrible peonage conditions in Georgia makes an opportunity to lug in the whole race question and takes several flings at the Negro. The Jasper County peonage cases disclose so much barbarity, sav-

agery and deviltry on the part of white people that we see no real logical reason for bringing in any general charges against the Negro, but the "Inquirer" writer manages to do it. In the second paragraph of his article he says, "It must be admitted that the greatest mistake in American politics and one of the greatest wrongs ever done the Negro was to give him the ballot at a time when he was totally unprepared for such responsibility." Now, that statement has nothing at all to do with peonage in Jasper County. It is, however, a statement which the South is bound upon having the whole country accept as the truth. Indeed, if the Negro in Jasper County had the full right to the ballot, peonage as it exists there would be impossible.

The writer on the "Inquirer," after a few paragraphs of quasi-impartial statements on the race question, says: "There never will be social equality between Negroes and whites; on the average it is unlikely that there will be intellectual equality or anything like equal achievement of the highest sort. There should be equality of opportunity, of legal treatment, and also there should be a certain constructive sympathy with the race's struggling upward."

Here we have a man assuming the place of a prophet concerning things that he cannot know anything about. There is no man living in the United States who can tell what the relation of the races will be five hundred, three hundred or even a hundred years from today. If this writer and the rest of his kind believe that the Negro should be accorded equality of opportunity and of legal treatment, they need not worry about the rest; the Negro will attend to that.

This editorial in the "Inquirer" is a fair example of the negative sort of propaganda that the Negro is up against. It starts out to condemn peonage conditions in Georgia, says a few things that sound fair and just, and in passing makes the statement that it was the greatest mistake in American politics to give the Negro the ballot, and ends up by impressing upon readers the thought that the Negro can never be any sort of an equal of a white man in this country. This is the most dangerous sort of propaganda against which we have to fight.

(From Over)
peonage rumors in connection with that place. At the time of his visit there were many negroes there who had been paid out of jails or chain-gangs, held on the farm in durance vile.
"It is claimed that certain of these were surly and inclined to rebel at their treatment, in addition to talking too much. So, the remedy for the peonage charges and the unruly negroes, if the statements of the negro farm boss are to be believed, was to get rid of eleven of the negroes who were suspected of glib tongues, as it was foreseen that court investigations were likely."

"Thus a farmer accused of an offense against the law calmly proceeds to remove all evidence against him by murdering the witnesses," remarks the Omaha Bee, which believes that "if this had taken place anywhere between the eighth and fifteenth centuries it would have excited little wonder." In the present instance, however, Southern, Western, Northern, and Eastern editors agree that the Jasper County mystery first must be cleared up and then the blight of peonage must be eradicated.

So much for conditions recently brought to light. "But how general is this condition of peonage?" the New York Globe asks. Certainly, as The Globe points out, "that is the important public question." The chief of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice at Atlanta declares that peonage in Georgia "is not wide-spread in the sense of being State-wide," reports the New York Times. According to this official—

"Judging from the complaints we receive, a far greater part of Georgia is free from the practise, which seems to center in two or three sore spots where social conditions are less advanced.

"My impression is that the bulk of Georgia white residents are guiltless of intentional violations of the peonage law, just as my experience leads me to believe that the bulk of white citizens are wholeheartedly back of our efforts to stamp out peonage."

But the New York Age, a negro publication, declares that peonage not only is practised in Georgia, but through many other Southern States. Says The Age:

"These conditions are not confined to Jasper County, Ga., alone. They apply to the entire region in the Mississippi delta and, in fact, to all that part of the South where cotton is raised.

"Thousands upon thousands of negroes in the agricultural sections of the South have for years been constantly cheated and robbed of their earnings and chained to the soil by this system of debt-slavery.

"Peonage slavery is more heartless than chattel slavery. This man, for example, never would have killed eleven slaves whose bodies belonged to him. They would have been considered too valuable."

"The whole question should be taken up vigorously by the Department of Justice," asserts the Springfield Republican; and the Knoxville Sentinel, which likens the Jasper County outrage to Turkish atrocities in Armenia, altho on a lesser scale, says specifically:

"Peonage is a crime that grows by what it feeds upon. The Jasper County peonage shambles is a foul, ineffaceable blot upon the fair name of Georgia. The stain may be in a measure modified and expiated, but only through the State of Georgia . . . visiting he condign penalties of the law on the perpetrators and accessories of these awful crimes. Her course of procedure should not terminate with the prosecution and punishment of the criminals in this particular case, but it should extend to the overhauling and reforming of her penal system in all its bearings on the case, with the result to stamp out utterly the peonage practise."

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions.

NEW HAVEN CONN. COURIER

MARCH 31, 1921

The Hidden Georgian Things.

THAT tragedy on a big Georgia plantation where negro employees who made any trouble were disposed of, much as animals—their bodies weighted with rocks, and sunk in the nearby waters—calls attention to two angles of the "problem." One is the economic wrong done the black. This is less obvious than depriving him of his vote or hanging him to a telegraph pole but a source of infinite friction and much crime.

Dependence usually opens the door to tyranny; in this case the ignorant negro must take what his white employer gives him. But the average negro is not only ignorant, he is socially despised and friendless. When he raises a point as to his wages or disputes with the grocer the weight of a commodity, the issue of justice is lost. In a Southern state in the larger matter of white supremacy and the importance of keeping the negro "in his place," the black man is utterly dependent on the vice or virtue of his white "superior." The class system is dominant in England but marvelously they have paralled it with such justice that if a lord strikes the meanest beggar to court must he go, there to have the facts weighed in a just balance. In the Orient so keen are the foreign officials to hold the respect of the undeveloped peoples among whom they live that their own nationals complain the scales of their courts weigh against them when natives are the complainants. No such relation between the weak and the strong exists in the south. Slavery promoted a spirit of brutal oppression; not yet does chivalry's sword leap from its scabbard to defend the black man or woman. The offended white still has the black man at his mercy. He can raise a cry that he has been insulted. The negro may be lynched before the excitement abates. It is noteworthy that though this modern Legree is credited with disposing of a number of blacks, no one proposes to lynch him.

The second point is that the ignorant southern white is the stone wall that makes the race problem almost impassible. Ignorance, buttressed in conceit and cheap pride, is a dreadful thing. Education has lagged in Dixie and the cities and especially the counties have many whites who use the black as a background on which to exult and disport their pride and arrogance. This inferior class of whites, descendants of the foremen and small oppressors of the blacks in chains, are not capable of a magnanimous appeal to give a larger life to the black. They cannot intellectually apprehend it. There is a contingent of better southern men; these are evincing a

recognition of the peril of neglecting the dark millions longer. They can drag the stupid neighbor into an attitude of approximate justice.

The details of this new horror are familiar though incredible in any other state of society. There are a dozen children in the family and three of the boys are under arrest with the old man. It must be a cheerful state of society where such things occur.

HARTFORD CONN. COURANT APRIL 13, 1921 GEORGIA IS ACQUITTED.

Even though Georgia may be the home station of the Ku Klux Klan no other section of the country can now criticize her work in connection with the case of the planter, Williams, who was accused of causing the death of eleven negroes whose ill fortune it had been to work for him. When the wholesale murders were discovered Georgia lost no time in placing the accused man on trial and it must not be forgotten that he was convicted by a jury of white men, a fact which should be remembered when the news of the next lynching is published.

More than this, the state's leading witness against John Williams, the accused, was a negro who said that he killed his fellows which statement he coupled with the assertion that he would have been murdered had he not obeyed orders. His story was a horrible one, told in a matter of fact way, but supported by the discovery of the bodies of the murdered men. Of that, at least, the jury was sure; the men had been murdered, and the state's witness admitted that he killed them acting upon the orders of his master, Williams.

When the jury came to the consideration of the case it is evident that they failed to find a motive for the crime so far as the negro was concerned. However reluctant the jury might have been to convict a white man of murder upon the testimony of a black one common sense indicated that the negro's story was the one to be accepted against the point-blank denial of the accused. When Williams went on the stand and said, "I have bonded out negroes and worked them" he virtually convicted himself for in saying that he supplied the jury with evidence that he had had a motive for causing the death of the men.

Georgia now realizes the evil pos-

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

sibilities of a system which will permit the bonding out of negroes and she can be trusted, we think, to deal with the problem. As to this we have less interest now than in the fact which confronts us. That is that, without the loss of a minute, the state has charged a white man with the murder of a negro, has placed him on trial before a jury of white men and secured a verdict of first degree murder upon the testimony of a negro. It is true that counsel for Williams will appeal but that is a minor matter, as the motion would have been made in any state in the event of even a remote chance of a new trial. Whatever may be the outcome of the motion the state stands with clean hands. It, too, was on trial and has been acquitted.

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR
MARCH 31 1921
WANT NEGRO DETECTIVES
National Race Congress to Protest Alleged Peonage System.
Instructions to its judiciary committee to wait upon the Attorney General and file with the Department of Justice a protest against what was called the peonage system of Georgia and other southern states were executed at a meeting of the committee of the National Race Congress of America Tuesday. Embodied in the protest was an appeal that colored men be appointed detectives wherever it may be considered wise to do so, in order that assistance may be given authorities in ferreting out the crimes of the alleged peonage system, and run down the "murderers." Dr. W. H. Jernagin presided.

SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH

The gruesome discoveries of several bodies of colored men shackled together in a stream near Opelika, in Georgia, brings to light one of the most horrible tales that have disgraced the history of the South for the past decade. Investigation, even though of a half-hearted kind, by the authorities, discloses that these were peons of a farmer who had taken them, according to the southern custom, which allows a farmer or contractor to pay the fine of colored men and women convicted of some slight offense by the court. The men or women thus freed must work for the farmer or contractor until the amount of the fine which he has paid is "worked out." The length of time that must elapse until the debt has been wiped out is dependent, of course, upon the judgment of the farmer or contractor. It is a miserable system, a wretched system. There are supposed laws against it, but in the South law is one thing, enforcement of the law quite another, especially if a colored man enters into the question. Systems much less subversive of humanity and decency in southern and eastern Europe, Asia, Turkey, Armenia and China cause the headlong rush into print with burning tirades of Caucasian writers, who become instantly aflame with righteous horror at atrocities which are not committed in America.

The brutal murder of eight, ten or twelve men, even though they were colored, for no reason except that they resented the slavery which had been thrust upon them, and wanted an accounting of time, has roused even Georgia. It may be that these wretched victims may serve to inflame public opinion into a determined effort to put to an end this "new slavery." Let us hope so. One thing, however, is certain: the atrocities and outrages in the Near East should not stir our breasts into a passionate desire to right those wrongs until we have first seen that the United States has a clear record of humane treatment of her most humble people.

Southern Justice On Trial

The eyes of the world are focused on Newton, County, Ga., as a white man is on trial for his life, accused of wholesale murder of Negroes, in an effort to hide other crimes against the law.

The question that is uppermost in the minds of the public is will a white jury convict a white man of a capital crime committed against Negroes in the South? While there are some who doubt that a sense of justice will have any effect upon a jury in such a case, yet there are others who believe that the white people of Georgia fully realize the grave responsibility that rests upon them at this time. Not only is justice on trial in Georgia, but because of the character of the crime, for which John Williams is on trial, the justice of the entire South is, in a large measure, involved.

According to testimony presented to the grand jury, which indicted Williams, he is guilty of deliberate, premeditated murder, to hide other crimes committed by himself. The brutal treatment of

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Negroes will also have some bearing on the case. The system of peonage, as practiced on his farm, will also have a bearing in the case. The standing of the defendant in the community, has its effect in the case.

In the light of the evidence which has so far come to our attention, we are forced to believe that John Williams, a white man, of Jasper County, down in Georgia, will be convicted of a capital crime not against the Negroes, but against the peace and dignity of the State of Georgia.

Hiding Crime Down In Georgia

Accidentally, the mask was pulled from a small spot down in Georgia the other day, and peonage, slavery and murder of the foulest kind have been revealed.

Speaking of crime, some editors have said that, "Georgia is the blackest hell-hole in America." Little, we dare say, did they dream that such crimes as have recently been discovered, were possible, even down in Georgia.

At this writing, eleven death victims have been found, who were the prey of plantation owners. But no one may venture to say how many more who will never be heard of.

We are reminded of the King of Belgium, who, a few years ago, resorted to the most heinous crime against human beings, in his quest for rubber, more rubber. But today, there are many kings in the South who resort to every kind of crime in quest of cotton, corn, more cotton and corn.

This practice peonage enforced by murder is not confined to Jasper County, Ga. An investigation, (an honest one) will reveal that the same condition prevails in Alabama, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Mississippi, Tennessee and the Carolinas.

Of course the cases may not be just identical, but it will be found that peonage exist in many counties in these several states, especially where cotton is produced.

Suspicion by those who are looking for peonage cases may well be directed to Pemiscott County of this State, for many complaints have been called to our attention of brutal treatment of Negroes who have sought to leave certain farms in the county.

New Madrid is another county that won't stand investigation.

Like, no doubt, the Georgia case, the officers of the counties are so badly mixed-up in these cases they cannot do their duty.

It is therefore, the duty of the United States Government to take a hand in this matter and clean out these peonage farms, and liberate the Negroes who are in slavery.

GEORGIA NOT ONLY SLAVE STATE.

The recent disclosure of horrible crimes and the existence of peonage in the state of Georgia is not surprising news to many people, and especially is this true regarding the existence of slavery in the Cracker State.

Slavery, of course, is more cruel and more man than preceding the civil war, exists in several Southern states, and while it is camouflaged under various names and disguises, it is slavery just the same.

If the confession of the colored accomplice in the latest Georgia cruelties and barbarities is true and correct, not only should those guilty for these atrocious and horrifying depredations be punished to the fullest extent by the state authorities, but the federal government should also take cognizance of this deplorable condition and not only assess a penalty upon the guilty culprits, but also investigate conditions with a view of obliterating forever from the South slavery in various shapes, forms and fashions.

Undoubtedly, the fact that peonage exists in several Southern states has been known for some time by the federal authorities.

If this is true, then these officials are guilty of dereliction of duty and perhaps it can be stretched to the point of conspiracy or malfeasance in office.

The method of operation of the Jasper County slave holder is one that is in vogue throughout the South, where fines are paid for colored criminals and then they are forced to work out the fine. It is the rule, rather than the exception, that the fine is never paid out and thus these unfortunate men, and sometimes women, are held in human bondage the rest of their life.

Then, on many of the large farms and plantations of Dixie more brazen methods are employed, guards maintaining the strictest surveillance over the farm hands at all times.

The slaves are not permitted to leave the plantations, while a big commissary is operated on the place selling at exorbitant prices all the necessities and non-necessities.

Colored victims are charged for commodities they never purchase and they dare not dispute the "boss" word, for if they do severe punishment, probably death, will be their bitter fate.

Right here in Texas, not 200 miles from Houston, conditions are existing on some of these big plantations that would shock the most Hunnish Hun, if they were disclosed.

But death stares the man in the face who would dare "squeal," and thus terrorized and intimidated these American citizens are compelled to remain on the farm year in and year out and sweat out their lives in a type of manual labor that is beyond the pale of imagination.

Similar conditions prevail in Arkansas, Louisiana and other Southern states.

On good authority it has been learned that thousands of these young men from such plantations, who were drafted into the American army during the late unpleasantness with the central powers of Europe, had never heard of the emancipation proclamation and did not know that they were free men.

Y. M. C. A. secretaries and army officers are responsible for this statement, and if it is erroneous they are responsible for the charge.

There is plenty of work for this country to do at home. Our home mission work should precede our foreign mission work.

If such "kultur" bespeaks civilization and Christianity, then the brutal Hun and unspeakable Turk are angels of mercy compared with their barbarous and heathenish brothers in "democratic" America.

DETROIT FREE PRESS
APRIL 21, 1921
COMMENDS EDITORIAL
ON PEONAGE CASES

To the Editor: I had occasion recently to read an editorial in your paper on "Peonage in the South" and was struck by the very fair-minded attitude assumed by you in discussing the matter. Every true southerner condemns conditions as found in parts of Jasper county, in this state, where 11 Negroes were apparently put to death on the Williams farm to hide Williams' guilt of practicing peonage. The state of Georgia has adequately met the situation by immediately trying Williams for murder. On the first charge he has been found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. He still has to face some eight or nine other charges found by the

grand jury in Jasper county. His three sons have also been indicted and will doubtless be severely dealt with. Prominent citizens of Georgia have put up the money with which to hire the best legal talent in the state to assist in the prosecution. They have also hired Mr. Marvin Underwood, formerly assistant attorney general of the United States, to defend the Negro Manning, who has confessed to most of the killings, at the instigation of Williams.

Your discussion of the matter is different from the Pittsburgh Press. Statements as made by this Pittsburgh paper can do no possible good. They are not based on facts, as anyone at all familiar with conditions in the south well knows. This paper speaks of the "lazy whites" in the south. Ty Cobb is a good example of such laziness. Climatic conditions in the lower parts of the southern states are conducive to easy living, but a lazy people could never have recovered from the terrible state of affairs

resulting out of the war between the states and reconstruction. The south has not had a bed of roses for the past 50 years and to have done as well as it has in putting its house in order speaks well of the character of its people. Except in such isolated instances as this Williams affair, the Negro is well treated and provided for in the south. Certain eastern organizations have at times given them bad advice, but the great majority of the Negroes prefer to take advice from their own leaders, like the late Booker T. Washington. There is no such thing as a Negro going hungry in the south, as sometimes happens with certain classes of the whites. He can always get a "hand-out" from some white family, and if there is work to be done he is given preference.

Please pardon this intrusion on your time, but I appreciated your editorial and want you to know it. All the south asks is fair treatment and a proper appreciation of its problems. The question of the Negro is not an easy one in those parts of the south where he represents more than a majority of the population. It is unthinkable that the Negro would rule those sections, because this is an Anglo-Saxon country and always will be. At the same time, the Negro must be given protection and equality before the law.

What of the Negro?

WE like to think of this country as the world's greatest national example of freedom, liberty and humanity. So, in many respects, it undoubtedly is. But now and then there arises an episode that draws back the curtain of silence over some phase of our national life and reveals behind the smiling face of our civilization an ugly and shameless brutality. Nowhere is this trace of barbarity so frequently revealed as in the relations between white men and negroes. Just now decent people are shocked by the revelations of a "peonage farm" in Georgia, where eleven negroes have been murdered on one pretext or another by a white proprietor and his black overseer; it is an outrage which ranks with even the grim atrocities of slavery days. Indeed, it seems to have been a case of slavery, in all essentials except the name. And the horror of it is that it seems to have been merely an aggravated instance of abuse of a custom and method that is, in many southern states, a perfectly legal form of human servitude.

For these eleven negroes, dispatches say, were obtained for work on the murder plantation by "buying them out" of jail. It is permitted by law that an employer in need of labor may pay the fines of negroes imprisoned for minor offenses, and put them to work until their fines are worked out. In the case now under investigation and in many others, according to report, the negro so "bought out" for a lonely plantation out of reach of the authorities is practically sold into slavery for so long as armed watchmen can prevent his escape. As the black overseer testified against his master in his appearance before the grand jury at Covington, "it wouldn't do to let all these niggers get back to Atlanta. They knew too much." Hence not only slavery but murder.

The treatment of the negro by the white man since the civil war has forced upon this country a racial, economic and political question of the gravest moment. So long as the negro was always ignorant and afraid abuses went unchecked and unpunished. But there is growing up among the black race a new leadership with a certain amount of education and shrewdness and with the inspiration of a great and terrible bitterness, legacy of the abuse and cruelty suffered by its fathers. Rapidly the negro in

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

N. Y. C. WORLD
MARCH 29, 1921

CONVICT LABOR IN GEORGIA.

An investigation into conditions of peonage that led not to hurried reform but to eleven hasty murders to put witnesses out of the way need go no further in collecting proofs. The slavery that existed on the 4,000-acre plantation of John S. Williams in Jasper County, Ga., was of a variety, it may be assumed, that would not bear looking into. A long training in brutality must have preceded such crimes as these.

But for this cumulative brutality the State which has legalized the subletting of convict labor must hold itself almost as much to blame as any individual. It must be obvious to the officials of Georgia that when negro prisoners are turned over to planters to be worked and guarded like cattle the inevitable outcome of the arrangement is peonage of the most degrading order. Negro convicts serving out sentences are neither easy to handle nor safe. The farmer who employs them soon drifts into the use of harsh measures. His relation to the men is the relation of the over-

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE
MARCH 29, 1921

The Horror on the Alcovy

The Alcovy is a less storied river than the Rhine, but on it there is a real, not a fake, horror—one in which negroes, so far from being aggressors, are victims.

The chained and weighted bodies that have been dragged from the Alcovy and neighboring Georgia waters are those of colored men who were "peons"—that is, practically slaves. When they became "bigotry" or wanted to leave, their master, another Legree, had only to say to his executioner, "Clyde, I'm scared of that negro," and another peon was butchered and tossed into the Alcovy.

Though no threats of a lynching party are reported from Jasper County, there are signs of action on the part of the state's Attorney General. The murders will, perhaps, from their very enormity be of assistance to the Department of Justice in its task of freeing Georgia and other states of the peonage curse.

Some of the disabilities under which negroes labor cannot be removed by any national means, but slavery under another name can be stamped out. The law-abiding citizens of the South will surely assist the government to the limit in that task. Here is something vital to America's good name for Mr. Daugherty to accomplish. Here is his chance to prove that President Harding is a good judge of men.

the United States is becoming articulate, united and resentful of his historic and contemporary wrongs. Under vengeful leadership the ignorance and simplicity of the average negro may easily be driven to startling and dangerous lengths. And the country, by its complacent disregard of those who abuse and exploit the negro, is doing all that it can to insure that negro leadership shall be vengeful. It is time that we took stock of this situation; time that we wiped out the unfair legislation that permits the abuses; time that the clean and wholesome and humane majority of the American people should look about them and clean up the dark and dirty corners in our house of justice which we have been heretofore too busy to notice. Else we are likely to find our house sadly shaken.

Perhaps the south is the worst offender, but perhaps, again, that is chiefly because the south has more opportunity through having more negroes. One finds it difficult to lay the whole indictment against the south in view of the bitter race riots of the last few years in Omaha, in Springfield, in Chicago. This is a problem for the whole country, and the sooner we set about the solving of it, the better for the republic.

N. Y. C. WORLD
MARCH 28, 1921

SLAVERY IN GEORGIA?

REPORTS of a series of murders as a sequel to a system of peonage in Georgia come as a shock to a Nation which has supposed that slavery had been wiped out as a result of the Civil War.

It is reassuring to know that investigation and prosecution of the peonage started before the murders and not as result of the crime.

From the standpoint of our racial problem, it is perhaps fortunate that one of the confessed murderers was a negro. It is also reassuring that the better element of the Georgia whites appear to be as deeply stirred as the negroes.

Stern and relentless investigation and punishment of the crimes is imperative.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

BROOKLYN N. Y. CITIZEN
MARCH 28, 1921

The story from Georgia about the murder of some forty negroes by a partially if not wholly insane planter reads like a chapter from some barbarous narrative from Central Africa. It obviously suggests an inquiry into plantation conditions where anything resembling such a dreadful outbreak of homicidal fury is possible.

Armed Men Rush to Peonage Murder Farm At Rumor of Intended Negro Reprisal

MACON, Ga., March 28.—The roads leading to Jasper County continued to be crowded with automobiles today, all bound for the peonage murder farm of John Williams, where eleven negroes were killed in one of the most brutal series of crimes in the history of Georgia.

There were two invasions of Jasper County. The first by persons heavily armed and the other by a curious throng, eager to see traces of the crimes with their own eyes. The armed invasion was caused by report of a negro uprising against the whites in Jasper. Men from Butts and New Counties climbed into their automobiles and with their shot-guns and pistols, headed for Jasper. The report was a hoax.

Judge J. B. Parks of the Ocmulgee Circuit Court stated at his home in Sparta today that he would not cause the three sons of John Williams to be removed to the Fulton County tower in Atlanta.

"It would be unfair to the people of Jasper County for me to order these young men taken to the tower," says Judge Parks. "It would add to their cup of sorrow."

Judge Parks said that he had learned from reliable sources in Jasper County that apparently the young men are not connected with the crimes. He did not deny that other arrests might be made. In event the Williams boys are taken into custody, he said, they would be held in the Monticello jail until tried by a jury. Solicitor General Doyle Campbell started tonight for Atlanta, where tomorrow he will confer with Governor Dorsey with reference to further proceedings in the case. Governor Dorsey has been in telephonic communication with Jasper County throughout the day.

The verdict of the jury that investigated the deaths of the negroes on Easter was read to the Governor. It is understood he plans to take the case out of the hands of the county authorities, turning it over to Attorney General Bennett.

Solicitor General Campbell, it develops, is a creditor of Williams and has been associated with the accused man in some business transaction. Campbell says he lent \$5,000 to Williams eighteen months ago.

Negroes are keeping under cover, apparently in fear of the white people of the county, and there appears to be no foundation for the early reports of threatened reprisals.

It was stated by the authorities that a note received by Will Cook, white, living near Covington, signed by a negro, "to look out for the niggers," and found by Cook on his front porch, was the basis for the report of an uprising.

N. Y. C. POST

MARCH 30, 1921

Peonage in the South

Dispatches from Jasper County, Georgia, do not state the exact character of the alleged peonage here. The term may be applied to any practice supporting forced labor, from the horsewhipping of a sullen hired hand to virtual slavery. Its principal Southern forms are two. One is the holding of negro wage hands to involuntary labor under the operation of laws and courts which fine such hands for breach of contract and force them to work out their fines under their old masters. The other is the virtual enslaving of negro tenants through a system of share cropping. Federal laws forbid peonage in any form, and Federal authorities have long tried to stamp out both practices.

Up to 1911 most, if not all States of the lower South had statutes which rendered peonage not uncommon among negro wage earners. A negro made a contract with a planter in January; threw up his job in mid-season; the planter arrested him for obtaining money on false pretences; the court fined him and bound him to the planter to earn his fine. Negroes were even fined and bound out under the vagrancy laws. When there was a conflict of testimony as to a contract the white man was believed. Federal Judge Boyd of North Carolina said some years ago that there was evidence of cruelty in his district that would shame a barbarian. Federal prosecutions were brought by the score early in this century. By the Supreme Court decision in the case of Bailey vs. Alabama in 1911 the wicked State laws which made this practice easy were voided. But it may still go on clandestinely.

Peonage among negro tenant farmers is nowadays beyond doubt much the commoner form. The race rioting in Phillips County, Arkansas, in October, 1919, showed exactly how it may flourish. The black share-cropper of Arkansas disposed of his crop through the white landlord, who frequently cheated him; bought his supplies through the same landlord, who again gouged him; and thus was kept always tied to the land, always laboring, always in debt. It was shown that some negro tenants received half price for the cotton they raised, and that sometimes they were charged ten times the proper price for supplies. A white writer in the Memphis Commercial-Appeal described this state of affairs as especially frequent "in the delta regions where large plantations prevail." But it or some modification of it is known in many parts of the South, and poor whites are sometimes caught in its toils.

It is doubtful if we need a Congressional investigation. The situation is squarely up to the Department of Justice. It should begin a thorough inquiry and carry prosecutions through relentlessly.

N. Y. C. CALL

MARCH 30, 1921

Butchering Georgia Negroes

THE recovery of 11 bodies of Negroes alleged to have been murdered in two Georgia counties as a result of the system of peonage prevailing in many sections of the South may result in reviving interest in this modern system of slavery. If the story told by Manning, the alleged Negro accomplice of a white farmer, proves correct, the question will be asked: How widespread is this peonage and are Negro workers killed like dogs in other sections where this regime prevails?

Since the overthrow of slavery in the South the white ruling classes have resorted to many ingenious practices to keep the Negro in servitude. This was accomplished in the early post-war period by forcing or inducing the Negro to sign indentures imposing long terms of service to planters. Thousands of them were bound out in this way. Then the practice became general for courts to fine Negroes for the most trivial offenses.

Negroes haled before the police courts find white employers on hand seeking cheap labor. Each Negro is fined and there often follows a contest between white men in the court as to who should pay the fine and get the Negro. Often the judge will interfere and ask the Negro to make a choice between the contending exploiters, whereupon he chooses, the fine is paid by the "redeemer," and the Negro is led off to serve the white master for the months agreed upon. This system is reminiscent of the time when the courts of colonial Massachusetts and Connecticut bound out petty offenders to serve employers.

In Alabama and other states Negroes as tenant farmers contract with the land owners for so much rations per month and a wage for an entire year's labor. The Negro often contracts to "do good and faithful labor" for the white exploiter, which generally means from sunrise to sunset six days of every week. The contracts are often so drawn and the wages so small that the Negro often becomes hopelessly in debt to the master. If not in debt he will sometimes be charged with stealing a bridle or a few potatoes when he is brought into court and a Negro in a Southern court is friendless and doomed.

In court the Negro meets the white master, who offers to pay his fine and six months or more of additional service is added to the original agreement to repay the fine. In this way not only single Negroes but a whole family will be held in perpetual servitude despite the Thirteenth Amendment. There are many cases of a white man who has a debt against a Negro selling the claim to another man, which simply means selling the Negro himself. Ray Stannard Baker in his "Following the Color Line" mentions this case:

A Negro named Dan January was in debt to a white

farmer named Levi Carter. Carter agreed to sell the Negro and his entire family to another white farmer named Patrick. January refused to be sold. According to the testimony Carter and some of his companions seized January, bound him hand and foot and beat him most brutally, taking turns in doing the whipping until they were exhausted and the victim unconscious.

This debt slavery, social ostracism, and treatment in the courts are largely responsible for the Negro migration to the North. A recent study of this migration by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace contains this passage regarding the courts:

Negro witnesses count for nothing except when testifying against members of their own race. The testimony of a white man is conclusive in every instance. In no state of the South can a Negro woman get a verdict for seduction, nor in most cases enter a suit against a white man; nor, where a white man is concerned, is the law of consent made to apply to a Negro girl.

Under such a regime it is not surprising that some white exploiters take to butchering Negroes as is alleged in this particular Georgia case. Coupled with his status as a member of a lower caste in Southern capitalism, the Negro worker has the servile stigma of his ancestors placed upon him. This whole regime is a crying shame and a disgrace to the human species. Not until it is wiped out can it be said we have even made the beginnings of what our native chauvinists call "democracy."

SYRACUSE N. Y. JOURNAL

APRIL 1, 1921

UNCOVERING PEONAGE.

The Department of Justice is moving promptly to probe the murder of a gang of negro cotton workers near Covington, Ga., said to have been manacled and drowned as a finale to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of peonage. However, unless the law officers are armed with more money and more authority than they usually possess in such cases, the dispensing of complete justice is doubtful.

Intimations are heard of the most general practice of peonage throughout the South; and when one recalls the long and hard fight which the Federal government and the law abiding public sentiment of Southern states waged with remarkable success about 15 years ago to prevent the wholesale enslaving of not only the negro, but also unsuspecting Italians and other newly arrived immigrants through Northern employment bureaus, and understands how comparatively easy it would be for ruthless-minded cotton planters to take advantage of the confusion incident to the prosecution of a great war, the hint of widespread peonage sounds reasonable in the light of what has been disclosed in Georgia.

The developments thus far joined with the grim possibilities, convince us that nothing short of a congressional inquiry, with few Southern men on the investigating committee, can reach and correct the shocking evil.

GOVERNOR URGES HALT OF "RIDERS" IN TALIAFERRO

Prominent Man Charges
Sheriff With Failure to
Take Action Against
Treatment of Negroes.

CLAIMS THAT NEGRO
WAS BEATEN TO JELLY

Former Nurse at Wil-
liams' Home Denies She
Made Any Statement
About Killing of Baby.

Constitution 4/29/21
"Please do not use my name in
this, for if you should, then my
life would be in danger at their
hands, as I don't feel any too safe
as it is!"

With the publishing of a formal
denial by Dr. H. F. White, of Craw-
fordville, that "night riding" was
occurring in Taliaferro county and
his assertion that "somebody was
attempting to make a mountain out
of a molehill," Governor Hugh M.
Dorsey Thursday night released for
publication a letter from a promi-
nent citizen of the county. This
communication charges the sheriff
with failing to take action on the
alleged brutal mistreatment of ne-
groes, and makes the above state-
ment that his life would be in dan-
ger if his name was exposed.

Simultaneously, the governor re-
ferred the communication to the
state committee on race relations;
Judge E. T. Shurley and Solicitor-
General M. L. Felts, of the judicial
circuit, including Taliaferro county,
with the request that they "take
charge of the situation and bring
these people to justice."

Beaten Almost to Death.

In the letter received by the chief
executive, the writer tells of the
"night riders" going to the house
of a negro just without the corpo-
rate limits of Crawfordville, where
they "pulled a negro from his bed

conditions
naked and beat him almost to death
—the doctor says his head was a
jelly." No excuse was offered for
the crime, the letter stated, except
that on a previous evening, the mob
was "tick-tacking" the home of an-
other black nearby, and the negro
had cursed them.

Continuing, the letter stated that
the sheriff and town authorities
"will take no action—they never
do," and asks if the governor can
do anything to relieve conditions.
The writer then offered to supply
officials with names of the mob
members, asserting that several of
its members will give all the facts
to any one.

"In other words, we have con-
stantly open violation of the law
here with nothing done to check it,"
added the communication.

After requesting the chief execu-
tive not to make public his name
in the closing lines of the letter,
the writer added a postscript, which
read:

"Remember, governor, don't men-
tion my name as having reported
this to you, for I know what it
might mean to me."

Nurse Denies Statement.

Coincident with these develop-
ments is the statement issued by
Miss Sarah Weaver, a trained nurse
who attended Mrs. John S. Williams
on one occasion when she was ill.
Miss Weaver denied that she au-
thorized an afternoon newspaper of
Atlanta to publish an alleged state-
ment of her's, which said that a ne-
gro baby was killed on the famous
Jasper county "murder farm" while
she was there.

"I went into the J. S. Williams
home to nurse Mrs. Williams, and
found one of the best country homes
I was ever in," she declared. "It
seemed to me to be a typical Chris-
tian home. The consideration which
each member of the family had for
each other and for the visitor was
beautiful. I have been in 112 homes
and was never in a better.

"A statement has been accredited
to me in an afternoon newspaper
which I wish to correct. I mean the
statement that a negro baby was
killed while I was there," she con-
tinued. "I have never made any
such statement, and until I saw it
in the paper, had never heard of
any such thing. If the baby was
killed I do not know anything
about it, and the statement publish-
ed as coming from me is a false-
hood without any foundation what-
soever.

"Another statement put in my
mouth by the afternoon newspa-
per and which I never made, was
in regard to a whipping post. I saw
no such thing, and have never said
so. If there was a single negro
struck a blow while I was there, I
do not know of it. As a matter
of fact, while I was there very near-
ly all the negroes were sick with
the 'flu.' I think only one escaped.
Those ill were well cared for, and
every day the same doctors who

visited Mrs. Williams also attended
the blacks.

"I regret very much that my name
has been connected with this affair
and I make this statement because
it is the truth," she concluded.

Probing Alleged Murder.

Federal and state officials Thurs-
day afternoon were investigating
the alleged murder of a negro either
in Newton or Jasper counties. Re-
ports of the case were made to Dis-
trict Attorney Hooper Alexander,
who issued the following statement:

"Information has reached me
tending to indicate the commission
of a singularly brutal and atrocious
murder somewhere between Coving-
ton and Machen. It is said that the
person committing the murder is
known, but that everybody is afraid
of him, and that nothing has been
or will be done about it. I would
be glad for my informants to know
that unless I have further informa-
tion in two particulars I can not
even investigate the affair. If the
crime occurred in Jasper county,
the jurisdiction is in the southern
district, and it would be out of my
power to take any step at all be-
yond referring the matter to the
bureau of investigation. If it oc-
curred in Newton county, the situa-
tion would be otherwise. Even in
that event, however, I could take
no action, unless the offense trans-
gressed some law of the United
States.

"The mere fact that the victim
was a harmless old negro would
make no difference in this respect.
Murder is a crime against the laws
of Georgia only, and if there is
nothing else involved, it would be
out of the power of the United
States to take any action. The cir-
cumstances as reported to me are
so horrible that I feel moved to say
that if any person who knows the
facts will disclose them to me in
detail I will stretch my authority
to the limit in order to afford re-
dress, or to aid in securing it, and
will not divulge the name of my
informants. If there is nothing in
the case except plain murder, the
facts should be reported to the
Hon. Doyle Campbell at Monticello,
or the Hon. A. M. Brand, at
Lithonia, according as the offense
took place in Jasper or Newton."

Resolutions Adopted.

At a recent conference in Atlanta
of a number of prominent Georgia
citizens, Governor Dorsey appointed
a state committee on race relations,
which has adopted the following
resolutions:

"Whereas, Governor Hugh M.
Dorsey in the foregoing statement
has called to our attention specific
charges made to him as governor
with reference to the treatment of
the negro in Georgia, and has sug-
gested certain steps to remedy the
conditions shown by said charges:—
"Be it resolved, that we, the un-
dersigned, endorse the statement
made by the governor and give
our unqualified approval to the
remedy suggested by him.

"Be it further resolved, that we
do hereby accept the appointment
as members of the white state
committee on race relations tender-
ed to us as individuals by Gov-
ernor Dorsey.

"Be it further resolved, that the
chairman of this meeting be made
permanent chairman of the com-
mittee on race relations with
authority to appoint an executive
committee of seven or more mem-
bers who shall at once inaugurate
a campaign to carry forward the
organization of local committees
on race relations and the considera-
tion by them and by all other or-
ganized groups of citizens in our

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm

state of the facts and remedies
submitted by the governor.

(Signed.) "Andrew J. Cobb,
Athens, Ga.; Bishop H. J. Mikell,
Atlanta, Ga.; James P. Faulkner,
Atlanta, Ga.; Nath Thompson, Nor-
cross, Ga.; Burr Blackburn, Atlan-
ta, Ga.; M. C. Greene, Gray, Ga.;
M. Ashby Jones, Atlanta, Ga.; John
A. Manget, Atlanta, Ga.; G. R.
Glenn, Dahlonega, Ga.; Mrs. Z. I.
Fitzpatrick, Madison, Ga.; Marion
M. Jackson, Atlanta, Ga.; George
W. Andrews, Atlanta, Ga.; L. D. Newton,
Atlanta, Ga.; E. Marvin Underwood,
Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Archibald Davis,
Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. J. N. McEachern,
Atlanta, Ga.; J. Bailey Gordon,
Rome, Ga.; David Marx, Atlanta,
Ga.; William H. Barrett, Athens,
Ga.; Plato Durham, Atlanta, Ga.;
S. L. Morris, Atlanta, Ga.; Harry
Curtis, Macon, Ga.; H. A. Ethridge,
Atlanta, Ga.; Thomas Johnson, At-
lanta, Ga.; James Morton, Atlanta,
Ga.; W. Woods White, Atlanta, Ga.;
Mrs. Luke Johnson, Griffin, Ga.;
James B. Nevin, Atlanta, Ga.; John
D. Moss, Athens, Ga.; Homer L.
Grice, Washington, Ga.; John J.
Eagan, Atlanta, Ga.; W. B. Hill,
Atlanta, Ga.; William Bradford, At-
lanta, Ga.; D. Turner Quillian,
Gainesville, Ga.; W. W. Alexander,
Atlanta, Ga.; C. B. Wilmer, Atlan-
ta, Ga.; M. L. Brittain, Atlanta, Ga.;
M. S. Hodgson, Athens, Ga.; W. W.
Orr, Atlanta, Ga.; W. H. Barrett,
Augusta, Ga.

Dr. Ashby M. Jones, pastor of the
Ponce de Leon Baptist church, is
chairman of this committee, and
has appointed a subcommittee of
seven members to handle all the
correspondence relative to peonage
the governor received. The mem-
bers of this committee will be an-
nounced today. For the past week
Marion Jackson has handled all
matters referred to the committee
at the special request of Gover-
nor Dorsey.

Night Riding Alleged.

The letter made public last
night follows:

"Dear Governor: I want you to do one
thing for the law-abiding citizens of
Taliaferro county before you retire from
office. There is a lawless (they are not
Ku Klux) mob of white men and boys here
who have constantly defied all the laws
we have in connection with their various crimes.
And the last instance which caused so much
talk in our little town was Saturday night,
April 23, when they went to a negro house
here just without the corporate limits,
pulled a negro from his bed naked and
beat him almost to death. The doctor says
his head was a jelly. They offer no excuse
for the crime except that on a previous
night when they were tick-tacking another
negro house near there that this fellow
cursed out the window to them.

"Our sheriff and town authorities will
take no action; they never do, and I want
to know if you can't do something to help
us. If you could send a man here I could
give him the names of all the mob, and
several members of the group will give all
the facts to anyone. In other words, we
have constantly open violation of the law
here with nothing done to check it.

"Please do not use my name in this, for
if so, then my life would be in danger at
their hands, as I don't feel any too safe as
it is. Yours very respectfully.

"P. S.—Remember, governor, don't men-
tion my name as having reported this to
you, for I know what it might mean to me."

Governor Dorsey's letter to the
judge and solicitor is as follows:

"I hand you herewith copy of communica-
tion sent me by a prominent citizen. I do
hope that you can take charge of this situa-
tion and bring these people to justice.

"I shall greatly appreciate hearing from
you and to have from you any suggestions
as to what I can do to help take care of
conditions, if they are as bad as painted."

Greene F. Johnson, chief counsel
for John S. Williams, will appear
before Judge John B. Hutcheson
Saturday in Decatur to argue his
motion for a new trial for the de-
fendant. Solicitor A. M. Brand, of
the Stone Mountain circuit, will op-
pose the motion.

Constitution 4/14/21 Jasper County Grand Jury Adjourns Late Wednes- day Without Returning Additional True Bills.

Monticello, Ga., April 13.—(Spe-
cial)—After investigating the lynch-
ing of Eugene Hamilton, negro,
here several months ago, for three
days and the killing of three other
blacks, the special session of the
Jasper county grand jury was ad-
journed late this afternoon with
the probe of the lynching case
tabled until the next regular term
in August, while no bills were
returned in these cases.
All peonage conditions in this dis-
trict would be laid before the grand
jury.

If a true bill is returned in the
case of the Jasper county farm, it
is understood indictments will be
laid against John S. Williams and
his three sons, Hulan, Marvin and
Leroy.

United States District Attorney
John W. Bennett and Mr. Powers
refused to give out any information
today on matters being presented
to the jury, other than to say that
violations of the Harrison narcotic
act, prohibition laws and postal
laws, as well as peonage matters,
would be brought to the attention
of that body.

Assistant District Attorney Pow-
ers, who will be in charge of the
presentation of evidence before the
federal grand jury, declared tonight
that he had no official information
of alleged peonage in Laurens
county. "If there is any peonage
case in Laurens county," he said,
"the investigators have not present-
ed the information to me."

Mr. Powers denied a rumor that
the grand jury is to visit the John
S. Williams farm at Monticello, in
investigating the Williams case.

Peonage Defined.

In that part of the charge to the
grand jury relating to peonage,
Judge Evans said:

"There is a clear distinction be-
tween peonage and the voluntary
performance of labor or rendering
service in payment of a debt. In
the latter case the debtor, though
contracting to pay his indebted-
ness by laborer service, and subject
like any other contractor to any
action for damages for breach of
that contract, can elect at any time
to break it.

"But where a debtor is prevented
by force of fear exerted by a
creditor employer, from acting as
a free agent with respect to per-
forming his contract and is coerced
into remaining in the service of the
creditor-employer, he will be held
in the condition of peonage in vio-
lation of the statute of the United
States."

PEONAGE CHARGES PROBED IN BIBB

Constitution 5/3/21

Macon, Ga., May 2.—(Special.)—
Charging the United States grand
jury which is probing the alleged
peonage conditions on the farm of

over

(From Over)

John S. Williams and his three sons in Jasper county. Judge Beverly Evans today declared that "no community should permit peonage conditions to exist, as peonage is a blot upon the civilization and morality of the people."

Judge Evans explained in detail the law defining peonage, pointing out the distinction between peonage and the voluntary performance of labor, or rendering service in payment of debt.

The grand jury retired a few minutes after 10 o'clock. K. P. Allen was chosen foreman. Assistant United States District Attorney Clem Powers, who is in charge of the jury, said yesterday that he expected the grand jury to return its indictments late Wednesday afternoon.

It is understood that a number of witnesses from Jasper county have been summoned to appear before the grand jury tomorrow, and it is reported that Doyle Campbell, solicitor-general of the Ocmulgee circuit, which includes Jasper county, will also appear before the body.

South Georgia Investigation.

It is stated that the grand jury will also investigate alleged peonage conditions on other farms in south Georgia. Agents of the department of justice have investigated during the past few months a number of farms in the southern district of Georgia, and Mr. Power announced several weeks ago the

INVESTIGATION OF PEONAGE IS URGED

Advertiser
**Georgia Federal Judge Charges
Grand Jury to Make Thorough Probe**

\$3/21
(Associated Press.)

MACON, GA., May 2—Judge Beverly D. Evans of the United States district court especially charged the federal grand jury today to investigate reports of peonage in the southern district of Georgia where three or four cases are said to be suspected in two counties.

Assistant District Attorney Powers, who will be in charge of the presentation of evidence before the federal grand jury, declared tonight he had no official information of alleged peonage in Laurens county. "If there is any peonage case in Laurens county," he said, "the investigators have not presented the information to me."

Mr. Powers said he expected a report from the grand jury Wednesday night. He denied a rumor that the grand jury is to visit the John S. Williams farm at Monticello, but said the Williams case would be investigated.

In that part of the charge to the grand jury relating to peonage Judge Evans said:

"There is a clear distinction between peonage and the voluntary performance of labor or rendering service in payment of a debt. In the latter case the debtor, though contracting to pay his indebtedness by laborer service and subject like any other contractor to any action for damage for breach of that contract, can elect at any time to break it. But where a debtor is prevented by force of fear exerted by

a creditor, employer, from acting as a free agent with respect to performing his contract and is coerced into remaining in the service of his creditor-employer, he will be held in the condition of peonage in violation of the statutes of the United States."

ALLEGED PEONAGE INVESTIGATION ON

**Chief State's Witness in Williams
Case Called Before Federal**

Grand Jury

Advertiser
(Associated Press.)

MACON, GA., May 3.—Clyde Manning chief witness for the state in the prosecution of John S. Williams for the murder of Lindsey Preston, negro, in Newton county, testified for more than one hour today before the federal grand jury regarding alleged peonage conditions on the farm of Williams and his three sons.

Two agents of the department of justice, G. W. Brown and A. J. Wismer, who investigated conditions on the Jasper county farm, also testified before the federal grand jury, which recessed at 2 o'clock until tomorrow morning.

Manning, with nine other negroes from the Jasper county farm, were brought here from Atlanta, where they have been confined in jail. The other nine negroes will testify tomorrow morning, it is stated, and Manning is expected to be questioned again. He spent the night in jail here.

The nine negroes brought here with Manning are: Jude Manning, brother of Clyde; Nina Manning, wife of Clyde; Claude Freeman, Fred Favors, Rufus Manning, Will Johnson, Gracy Johnson, Emma Freeman and Lessie May Benton.

United States District Attorney Powers announced this afternoon that no other peonage conditions have been investigated by the grand jury. It was learned tonight, however, that witnesses from Dooley county would appear before the jury tomorrow. Alleged peonage conditions in Dooley county are being investigated by the department of justice, it is said.

The grand jury is expected to make its report to Judge Beverly Evans late tomorrow.

NATION-WIDE HUNT STARTED FOR SONS OF JOHN WILLIAMS

Constitution 5/2
**Federal Agents to Take
Immediate Steps for Arrest
of Men Named in
Peonage Indictments.**

MEN ARE ALSO WANTED ON CHARGES OF MURDER

**Friends of Brothers Say
They Have Not Left
County and Will Report
for Trial.**

MACON, GA., May 5.—A nationwide hunt for Marvin, Leroy and Hulon Williams, the three sons of John S. Williams, farmer of Jasper county, who, with their father, were indicted here by the federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to retain or hold negroes in a state of peonage and also on a charge of peonage, will be started immediately by federal agents. They are also under indictment on charges of murder in Jasper county in connection with the death of fourteen negroes who are said to have been killed on the Williams farm.

John S. Williams, who was recently convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, is now in the Atlanta jail pending the hearing of a motion for a new trial. As long as he is under this sentence, or should be tried for any of the other alleged murders, the government will not attempt to take charge of him. However, federal officers will initiate a nation-wide hunt for the sons.

Friends of the three missing sons of Williams have stated that they have not left the county and would report for trial when their cases were called.

For three days, the grand jury has made a thorough investigation of the Hamilton lynching, said Solicitor Doyle Campbell tonight, and a large number of witnesses was heard, but the body could not return indictments on the presented evidence. It was decided, therefore, to table the probe until August.

Killings Considered.

In addition to this case, the killing of three negroes within the last three months was under consideration by the jury.

One of these, a negro went to a white man's house one night the next morning he was found dead. Another was where a party of four white men approached a negro's home to learn of the whereabouts of one of his relatives. When the door was opened, the negro fired upon the men, and a general exchange of shots resulted. The following morning a negro body was found in the yard.

The other killings were where a negro woman was found dead in her home. Her death proved a mystery to local authorities, and it is understood very little light was thrown on the matter before the grand jury.

"Everyone here is satisfied with the work of the grand jury," state Solicitor Campbell tonight. "Both the jurymen and I were given ex-

cellent co-operation by the people and I am sure that Jasper county has cleared its name before the world. Its action in returning twelve indictments against John S. Williams, his three sons, Marvin, Huland and Leroy, and the negro Manning has shown this.

Will Call Special Session.

"I don't know where the Williams boys are, but I believe they are not in this country. When they are caught, we will call a special session of the Jasper superior court to place them on trial. Should Newton county officials complete their jurisdiction over John S. Williams, we will place him before the jury immediately. The same court will be followed regarding Clyde Manning," he concluded.

Much interest was attached to the grand jury's investigation of the "murder farm," and its return of twelve indictments against the principals came after a session lasting only six hours. A reward of five hundred dollars each has been offered by Governor Hugh A. Dorsey for the capture of the three Williams boys.

WILLIAMS AND NEGRO OFFERED TO JASPER

Constitution 5/19/21

Early trials of John S. Williams, owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," and Clyde Manning, his negro boss, in Jasper county, now rest with Solicitor General Doyle Campbell and Judge J. B. Park, of the Ocmulgee circuit; Judge John B. Hutcheson and Solicitor General A. M. Brand, of the Stone Mountain circuit, having offered to release the prisoners to them under certain conditions.

These conditions are that the order to release Williams to the Jasper county authorities for trial would be signed with the stipulation that unless a sentence more severe than the life imprisonment term imposed in Newton county should be given, the prisoner would be returned to Newton to serve his time.

The same conditions were specified regarding the trial of Manning after his hearing in Covington on May 30. Neither Solicitor Campbell nor Judge Park has announced what action Jasper county will take.

MANNING TO ENTER "NOT GUILTY" PLEA

Constitution 5/2
**Negro Boss of "Murder
Farm" Will Attempt to
Show He Acted Under
Coercion of Williams.**

When Clyde Manning, negro boss on the John S. Williams "murder farm" in Jasper county, faces trial in Covington on May 30, he will not only fight to save himself from the gallows, but will seek liberty on the contention he aided in the killing of eleven blacks because his own

life was threatened. In support of this line of defense, witnesses will be introduced to show Williams' alleged influence over the negro.

No official announcement of the line of procedure he will follow in defending Manning has been made by E. Marvin Underwood, prominent Atlanta attorney, other than the statement that a plea of "not guilty" will be entered and that the murders were committed under coercion.

Those closely in touch with the case, however, are certain that other former employees will be introduced as witnesses, since it is known they have frequently expressed themselves on relations between Manning and Williams.

At the close of the sensational trial of Williams, which resulted in imposition of a life sentence, Judge John B. Hutcheson did not adjourn court but declared a recess so that Manning might be placed on trial at any time. Manning's confession was the chief evidence on which Williams was convicted, and it was the expressed desire of Solicitor General A. M. Brand to place the negro on trial as soon as possible.

Two weeks ago the judge set May 30 as the date for the trial, when the Williams motion for a new trial was argued and denied in Decatur. Mr. Underwood stated that he did not expect the trial of Manning to consume more than two days.

Witnesses in "Murder Farm"

Cases Facing Sudden

Riches.

Constitution 5/26/21

Singing "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," at intervals, partaking regularly of goodly portions of side meat and corn pone and other cotton field delicacies and enjoying a long, sweet rest, free from the arduous duties of "working in the new ground," while the government of the United States of America pays them \$1 a day each and "found" is the plight of ten negroes from the famous "murder farm" of John Williams, of Jasper county, who are held in the Fulton Tower as witnesses.

It was learned in the office of Vincent Hughes, head of the southeastern offices of the department of justice, Wednesday that plans for the release of the negroes at an early date are now being worked out.

All of the witnesses have been in jail more than two months, and when released will have more ready cash than they have ever possessed before, according to their testimony.

During the Williams trial at Covington, it was testified by some of the negroes that the largest amount of money they ever possessed at one time while working on the Williams farm was 50 cents.

Clyde Manning, star witness against Williams, the negro farm boss, is not a participant in the "dividends," however, as he is being held on murder charges made in state courts.

The negro witnesses are Rena Manning, wife of Clyde Manning; Claude Freeman, Emma Freeman, Ju- Rufus Manning, Willie Johnson and Lulus Manning, wife of Lula M. Benton. They are all held as witnesses in peonage charges brought in federal courts against John Williams and his three sons, Marvin, Leroy and Hulon Williams.

John Williams, under a life sentence following his conviction on the first murder charge, occupies a cell a short distance from the negro witnesses, but draws no "per diem."

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions COME NOW, LET US REASON TOGETHER

Birmingham Reporter 4/9/21

The horrible outrage in Georgia, in which are implicated a white man named Williams, and a Negro named Manning, has shocked the country from end to end. That it was possible for one evidently so highly favored as Mr. Williams is, socially and materially, while living under the shadow of a great literary institution like Emory College, rich in tradition and in achievement in Christian life, would seem well nigh if not entirely inconceivable. The appalling event so far from stirring interracial animosity, should cause both the white and black races to hang their heads in shame and mortification because of even the possibility of a crime so revolting by a member of the human family. Certainly all the worst and most abnormal elements of criminality are crowded into the elevenfold murder in Newton County, Georgia.

The horrible transaction carries lessons of deep and far-reaching significance. This is a crime not to be thought of as locally fixed in the State of Georgia, nor even in the County of Newton, nor yet in the community in which has long thriven Emory College—it is human-wide in its application. Have we got no further in our boasted civilization in which all the races in our American states are concerned, have we advanced to no higher degree of excellence in the scale of intellectual and religious development, that for a shameful and prodigious crime like this to be possible in Georgia, let us not say, but anywhere in this broad land of free American states? That a man of ability sufficient to have become wealthy, and this does represent ability of a peculiar kind; that one reared in surroundings of great enlightenment in a favored atmosphere, could proceed in a way so deliberate and with so much precision; so methodically and diabolically thoughtful as to procure the murder of eleven men, for no other reason than that which impelled this crime, under the most awful conditions that set at naught every suggestion of civilized life, and with a depth of pathetic tragedy, constitutes one of the most revolting crimes in the catalogue of criminality. That is one lesson to be drawn.

Another lesson of alarming import is the use of a criminal Negro agent to execute the fell purpose of a favored white man. Superiority of social position, superiority of intelligence, superiority of rearing, superiority in point of wealth and influence—all these employed in subordination to a degree beneath all the disadvantages of a black executioner in effecting a wholesale and coarsely selfish crime, think of all this! It is not contended that the crime of the miserable black murderer is in the least extenuated, but that the crime of the white boss is thereby intensified in the manifold murder. Had the white boss himself committed the comprehensive crime, awful as it still would have been, it would have measurably relieved the aspect of the case as it now is made to appear. To have taken the advantage of a murderous Negro who was willing to serve as a bloody tool, while condemning the Negro, it fixes a degree of guilt on the white boss almost immeasurable in its proportions. Turn it about as we may please, fix on the fool Negro who served as the executioner all the share of blame that is his in the bloody transaction, yet from every possible angle the white instigator is made to appear at immense disadvantage.

There are many of us in the Negro race who are very anxious to relieve the racial strain between the whites and the blacks in the South, so that we may live in harmony under the same fervid sky, under the same flag, and in the enjoyment, each in his own way and his own sphere, of the beneficence of our free institutions. We are often greatly hindered by the incapacity of our own people to appreciate counsel and guidance, yet we have persisted, many of us, discouraged, but still hopeful of better things. But when by the examples of criminality by the favored and dominant race, lawlessness is so wantonly committed, our racial task becomes one of unspeakable awfulness.

Occupying a secondary place in American life, and largely reliant on white neighbors for almost everything, especially for means and agencies for stimulation to preserve law and order, thrift and industry, peace and sobriety, what can we say, what do, when violence is practically taught by men who seek to incite disorder by rousing one class against another as labor agita-

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm

tors, and by employing the ignorant and unscrupulous in criminal pursuits, and by wanton defiance of the law in the exercise of mobocracy? All this comes within the compass of the lessons conveyed by the ghastly tragedy enacted in the sister state of Georgia. Negro leaders who seek to rouse among their people aspirations to a higher and better life, certainly will not be inveighed against when they plead for examples of law and order and to be set by those whose advantages and opportunities make violation and violence utterly inexcusable.

We seek not to extenuate Negro guilt in criminality. Far from it. We struggle to put it down by ourselves being as faithful examples as we are capable; we found and support papers and print literature in promotion of this worthy aim, and by every possible means within our limited reach we strive to raise our people to a higher level of life; but we declare that our burdens become mighty heavy and our counsel mighty flat, when awful examples of violated law and of bloody violence are paraded before a race so unfavored as is the Negro race.

It looks paradoxical enough that we should be forced to plead—a far less favored race than the white race—for abstinence on the part of the more exalted race from courses that hinder the lesser race, but so it is, necessarily is. A Negro is no less a criminal because he is hired, incited, or intimidated to commit a crime. The penalty of the law should be meted out to him in proportion to his crime and the circumstances which enter into it. But with this said, what is there to be said of the more advanced white, who, as an impelling cause and agent is both behind and beneath the criminal transaction. This is another potent lesson drawn from the Georgia ghastliness, and from other instances where there is uneven complicity on the part of the members of the two races.

Yet another forcible lesson remains to be drawn from the tragedy in Georgia. In the crime of lynching the best members of both races, white and black, have joined in an outcry of denunciation, but it has unusually ended right there. The crime goes on unchecked without the proper intervention of the law. If a white man is lynched, there is no cessation of effort till the criminals are hunted down and fixed, but in fairness let it be said what everybody knows, that this is not done when only a Negro is lynched. An inquest is held, and a farcical verdict of "done by unknown parties," is rendered, the whole thing is wrapped about in silence and lapses into forgetfulness till another sensation of the same sort comes, only to take the same course, and so on year in and year out this is suffered to go on. The example of the worst lawlessness is paraded before a weak and untaught race of which law and order are demanded. Is there anything more illogical?

Can it be that in the providence of God this holocaust in Georgia is permitted where a common Negro laborer and a wealthy white planter are equally implicated, only that the planter is far more so than the Negro? They each stand before the tribunal of justice charged with murder of the most heinous sort. Were the Negro alone guilty, we know what the outcome would be. But it now comes to pass that not only a white man, but one with abundant wealth to be used in his defense, is arraigned side by side with the Negro. Not only has the white man wealth, he has station and prestige, none of which the colored criminal, Manning, has. They are co-conspirators in the execution of a most phenomenal crime, the guilt of the white boss the greater for reasons already recited and already known. Will there be any discrimination in favor of the one and equally against the other in the outcome of the trial? Here is a case testing the sincerity of respect for the law without respect for the parties involved. There is not a thoughtful Negro who will not say that the colored murderer, Manning, merits death, as much for being a fool as for being an indiscriminate slaughterer of men of his own race or of any other race. Will this be the sentiment in Newton County, Georgia, with the jurors? That a sincere indignation stirs the citizenship of that old and worthy county, seems to appear from the dispatches, and we share in the belief that full justice will be meted out alike to both the exceptional criminals.

This test question will involuntarily rise in many minds throughout the country, and with interest centered on this particular feature, the people will wait to see. Should justice be equally applied the value of the result will be of unspeakable good to the country at large.

GEORGIA NEEDS VINDICATION.

Montgomery Advertiser 4/10/21

In the conviction of John S. Williams, the Georgia farmer, for murder, Georgia has gone far to vindicate herself, and has made some progress in removing from herself the stain of lawlessness. A sentence for life is an inadequate punishment for the revolting crime for which Williams stands accused, but that sentence was pronounced only in the case of one of the negroes murdered. There are eleven of these cases, three of which are in an adjoining county, to the county in which Williams was convicted. The officials of the two countries seem thoroughly aroused and they declare that all prosecutions against this man of unbelievable ferocity will be vigorously pushed.

Georgia was not alone disgraced by these murders of eleven negroes: the South, also, was involved. And to a less degree the nation was involved in Georgia's disgrace. For such a series of open, cynical and law-defying crimes must have had a previous background of lawlessness and murder. Preceding this series of crimes, there must have been contempt of law, a brutal disregard of human rights and human cruelty in operation. The crimes were the end, not the beginning, of a long continued lawlessness. With the Williams case, Georgia should undertake what she has so long needed, a house cleaning to weed out her law defiers.

CRIME IN GEORGIA.

Montgomery Advertiser 4/28/21
Since reading the accounts of the repeated crimes of violence in Georgia in the past year or eighteen months, we are expecting some man, emulating William Allen White, of Kansas, to write and publish a fiery editorial on "What is the matter with Georgia?"

We discuss, with a sense of restraint and under an acknowledgment of the doubt of the propriety of the people of one State, claiming a higher morality than those of another State, inhabited by the same sort of people with the same sort of traditions and civilization and with an understanding that it may be necessary for an Alabama editor some day to savagely criticize his own people for criminal acts and apologize for them to people on the outside. There is nothing smug or self-conscious in the attitude of an Alabamian who wonders why Georgia is the scene of so many scandals and crimes of violence; the discussion proceeds rather from a sense of curiosity, as to the cause of these disturbances.

First of all there is no denial of the fact that Georgia leads all Southern States in the number of lynchings. In truth, the State has twice as many lynchings as any other State of the South. Every American

(From Over)

State is accustomed to vicious political campaigns, featured with hatreds and personalities. Yet, the leading place in this respect will be awarded to Georgia.

No other large city of the South produces as many scandals or crimes as does Atlanta. They are right now in the throes of a great civic scandal, differing from many in the past, only in its magnitude. It is clearly established that Atlanta was the headquarters of the largest and most effective group of swindlers that ever interested the South; for months these swindlers plied their trade uninterrupted by the police or the court authorities. When the scandal broke, as it was bound to do, charges and counter charges accompanied by some evidence were made that both the police department of Atlanta and the Solicitor-General's office were in alliance with the criminals. At the same time the Atlanta papers have been concerned daily over a series of half a dozen sordid murders in that section of Georgia lying in and about Atlanta. In Macon, fifty-three express messengers have been on trial for the most comprehensive scheme of stealing that the papers ever had to describe. It is true that one line of this conspiracy with its accompanying thefts penetrated Alabama, but the head, front and workings of it were in Georgia, where the scheme was not only conceived, but where the men who stole the goods had a ready market for them.

Then to cap the climax of Georgia's series of crime recently made public, comes the news of the revolting and unbelievable crime by which a brutal white man directed the killing of eleven negroes whom he had held in peonage and who would have been witnesses against him for his lawless act in holding men in bondage to work for him. There has not been in recent years a crime so repulsive as this callous slaying of human beings, whose death was but the climax of a series of wrongs the negroes had suffered. It is hard to believe that such cruelty obtains in the world today—that an intelligent man, well placed in a Christian civilization, could descend to the savage depths of having murdered and assisted in the murder of eleven helpless negroes.

When this man comes to answer for his crime in a court of law the State of Georgia will be on trial as well as he; the outer world will judge Georgia by the result of this trial.

This horrible crime, it should be said in justice to Georgia, is not and can not be considered typical of Georgia; it might have happened in any other State. But it has the appearance of having been committed under a sort of recklessness, which grew up in an environment where the law

was not respected and the courts were not feared. It comes as the culmination of a long series of violent crimes and makes more sinister the crimes which went before.

What force, what influence, what sort of social or political philosophy is it that makes Georgia the scene of so many more crimes than its sister States? The moral and law abiding people of the State, and they comprise the majority, must be concerning themselves over the lawlessness for which Georgia is becoming noted.

GEORGIA'S "DEATH FARM"

Times plain dealer 4/12/21

Georgia has jumped off in a mad rush for bloody and gory honors for 1921. Negroes driven out of three counties, sporadic lynchings, and the burning of a Negro boy at Athens—all recently.

Then came "Death Farm!"

This ulcer was brought to a head by Federal pressure. It is a shocking, nauseating revelation. "Death Farm," where eleven Negro serfs were brutally murdered on the pirates excuse of "dead men tell no tales," is in the State of Georgia.

But there are other "Death Farms," and they are not all in the State of Georgia. There is scarcely a Southern States that does not tolerate some form of peonage, debt-slavery or the vicious share crop system.

Share cropping and debt-slavery have nearly ruined the fertile Mississippi delta. In Arkansas, the so-called "Negro uprisings" were in fact but an attempt on the part of the Negro farmers to secure just compensation from their white overlords.

Next to lynching, there is no greater cause for unrest than these damnable inhuman systems of exploitation, these remnants of the old institution of slavery.

While the Southern States are bowed in shame over the unearthing of these deplorable conditions, they should not be alone. The greater shame is to the Federal government. The 13th Amendment of the Constitution denounces slavery and involuntary servitude, and gives Congress power to enforce that denunciation. And Congress has enacted peonage laws. But like so many of our laws they lie in dust. Unlike the suffrage amendments (14th and 15th), where Federal power is given only against State acts, the 13th Amendment gives Congress direct power against any and all individuals.

It is hoped that the present Federal activities will continue until all men are set free in our country. And the representative men of the South must stand firm with the Government.

"Death Farm" and its owner, a modern Simon Legree, are an anachronism—they are out of place by over half a century, and are a violent corrosive attacking the Thirteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

TRENTON N. J. TIMES

APRIL 4, 1921

SLAVERY AND MURDER.

Lynching negroes in the South was bad enough, but Georgia has been doing worse than the other states by not only maintaining slavery in one of its counties, but murdering by wholesale negro workmen who were regarded as "trouble-makers." The bodies of eleven men have been discovered, and a grand jury is to make an investigation.

Is there anybody so innocent as to believe that eleven men could be murdered in a single county, even in an isolated farm of more than two thousand acres, without the knowledge of the authorities? The affair should be made the subject of an investigation by Congress at the earliest possible moment and the parties responsible for the outrage brought to justice.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. NEWS.

APRIL 11, 1921

GEORGIA VINDICATES SOUTH

We think a great deal more highly of Georgia than we formerly thought since a verdict of guilty has been pronounced against the Jasper county farmer who was tried for the murder of negro laborers on his farm who had lived in a condition of peonage and who were murdered by Williams, as the State contended, to cover up such a condition.

To have released the defendant would almost have been tantamount to the statement that Georgia approves of the situation which prevailed on the farm of the large Jasper county planter and that Georgia rebels against the conviction of any white man on the charge of the murder of negroes.

And that would not merely have been a slander against the better element of the people of that state, but it would have been a slur upon the law-abiding citizens of the entire south.

The people of this section of the country do not believe in discriminations in favor of the white men who are positioned as Williams has been, a big farmer, owning lots of lands and working them with negroes who were in virtual slavery to him and then, seeking to cover up this status of peonage, he killed them by horrible processes.

There may be some radical thinkers in the east and north who are disappointed that Williams was not acquitted that they might pour their raillery upon our sense of justice in the South, but the turn taken in this trial is a great vindication to the South's sense of honor and its convictions of right.

GRAVENWORTH, KAN. TIMES

APRIL 10, 1921

SLAVERY STILL EXISTS.

For some years there have been reports of peonage in the South and stories of barbarous treatment of Negroes have not been wanting. But they have not received much attention. The disposition in the North has been to allow the South to settle its own domestic affairs, and while our people have been horrified by some of the stories that have come out of the South they have felt that the better element of the South could be depended upon to right the wrong, if wrong existed.

Today, however, roused by the revelations in the Williams case in Jasper county, Georgia, in which it was shown that eleven pleading, protesting Negroes who had been held in bondage by Williams were dragged to the river, loaded with chains and rocks thrown in and drowned to keep them from testifying to the outrages they had suffered, there is a strong sentiment in favor of governmental interference if the state fails to protect these helpless citizens. It is now fifty-seven years since the issuance of the Emancipation proclamation, and if, in that time public sentiment in the states where slavery existed has not become sufficiently enlightened to revolt at the idea of involuntary servitude and to protect the weaker citizens against it and against its attendant abuses, then it is time that the general government take a hand and force American principles into those sections where such darkness prevails.

The Georgia case, and rumors from other parts of the South give us an uncomfortable feeling that the disease may be wide spread. We hope the Harding administration will institute a thorough investigation and will see to it that every citizen is protected in his right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

WHITE MAN THE PRINCIPAL

(Macon Telegraph, 4/1/21)
Atlanta Independent
How Clyde Manning ever executed the orders of his "boss" on the Williams plantation in Jasper County, as he claims he did, is a question often asked. It would seem that the ordinary human or animal instincts would have prevented such diabolical heinousness, multiplied and cumulative as it was.

Here was a negro working for a white man for fifteen years, overseeing a plantation of 2,200 acres, growing in the confidence of the white man to the extent that the negro was charged with the responsibility of being farm boss, looking after a large number of men, mules, stock, farm products, etc., and to hold this place for that length of time would argue that he was an unusual negro from a standpoint of intelligence, dependability, executive qualifications and aggressive nature—for a man to be able to "boss" a large number of negro laborers must possess all of these.

The negro farm boss now tells the story, and with such plausibility as to make it acceptable to nearly everyone, that his master followed the custom of visiting prisons in Atlanta and Macon, selecting such likely negroes therefrom as he preferred, proposing to them that he would pay their fines if they agreed and take them up to his farm and let them work out the amounts under conditions more attractive and pleasant than those afforded at the prisons.

They were kept on the farm in a bunk house with barred windows, under guard, according to the evidence. This was enforced labor, constituting peonage, under the federal statutes. It is quite proper and legal to pay a man's fine and take him out of prison, to work out the amount. This then becomes an ordinary debt, and if he runs away or refuses to work, that is the bad luck of the man who does the paying.

The Federal Government's agents visited the Williams farm on or about March 1, this year, to make investigations of certain

peonage rumors in connection with that place. At the time of this visit there were many negroes there who had been paid out of jails or chaingangs, held on the farm in durance vile.

It is claimed that certain of these were surly and inclined to rebel at their treatment, in addition to talking too much. So the remedy for the peonage charges and the unruly negroes, if the statements of the negro farm boss are to be believed, was to get rid of eleven of the negroes who were suspected of glib tongues, as it was foreseen that court investigations were likely. The plan decided upon by Williams, the white farmer, according to the negro, was to kill these eleven negroes, to make sure they would not testify as to peonage. And they were killed, diabolically, cold-bloodedly, with less consideration or scruple than would have been accorded so many dogs lounging about the place. There seems to have been no thought of the fact that they were human beings.

The negro farm boss was told to get rid of them, he says, and he is certainly to be commended for his efficiency, if for nothing else. But how could he ever get his courage up to where the murders could be committed? If a white man works for another white man, and is told to do something he knows is improper or unlawful, as a rule he will refuse point blank and unequivocally. Not so with the average negro. The negro has been brought up under the tutelage and care of the white man. His mind is largely akin to that of a child of ten years—open to suggestion, following without question. He has seen the white man evade and break laws, escaping punishment. He is convinced that the white man is smart, and knows how to get out of trouble if he gets into it—and he believes the white man can be relied upon to get him out of trouble if such condition should arise through carrying out the white man's instructions.

This is true of a large majority of negroes, especially in the country districts. The negro is man-

handled when it is thought advisable, and he is easily convinced that the white man can kill him at will and escape punishment. He has seen it in numberless instances. So that when the negro is "hired," he usually obeys unquestioningly. In addition to his training and practice for three hundred years, taking orders, he has the fear of bodily harm from his boss if the latter is at all disposed to be uncouth and rough in his treatment and conduct.

It is not difficult, therefore, to see how Clyde Manning is perfectly sincere in his simple statement as to his connection with the crime. This is not to be regarded as a premature conviction of John Williams, the white man, as the evidence will have to be heard by sworn jurors and their verdict made up accordingly. The negro may be telling the whole truth, and he may not be telling but a part of it. If he is found to be telling the whole truth, knowing the negro nature and training as we do, the negro should be held as accessory to the fact, and not the principal. The white man, according to the evidence up to date, is the principal.

"MURDER WILL OUT"
Savannah Journal

"Murder will out." There is no escape from it but suicide and suicide is confession." These notable words fell from the lips of Daniel Webster in one of the most famous murder trials in the history of the nation. The words rang true then. They ring true now. The echo of the dictum runs down the ages as prophetic as the words of the seers of previous ages.

The happenings of Jasper and Newton Counties, the unearthing of the ghastly finds, the revolution of thought and sentiment, the bold stand of Gov. Dorsey and other citizens of the state, the arrests, incarceration, trial, and, we hope, conviction of all allied parties will accentuate the truth of

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm

the declaration of Mr. Webster, and relieve the state of the baneful criticism that has come to it as the consequence of these ghastly revelations.

We have traversed, practically, every foot of territory of these two counties. We know many of the citizens of both of them. We know of the prosperity of the people, especially of Newton county and generally, of Jasper. We know of the advantages of the former county and the citizens thereof over the latter. But we must acknowledge that we have never conceived of conditions so deplorable, of crimes so ghastly or of men so absolutely soulless as to be able even to be frightened into the commission of such crimes. Nor have we even vaguely supposed that in Georgia there was a human being who possessed innate wickedness of heart and blindness of conscience such as could lead them to attempt to force the perpetration of such deeds.

Of all the crimes committed Armenia, as the Hun depredations in Belgium, as the Bolshevik slaughters in Russia, as the massacres of whites by savages in uncivilized lands, will free Georgia from a place of disgrace in the sisterhood of states.

A VICIOUS SYSTEM
Constitution 4/7/21
"Like most farmers," said John S. Williams, in testifying in the case in which he was on trial for his life, in Covington, "I have bonded out negroes and worked them."

Whether or not this man is guilty of killing negroes by the wholesale, as charged, on his so-called "murder farm," is for the courts to determine. It is a question that is now before the courts and we, therefore, have nothing to say on the subject.

But when Defendant Williams swore on the witness stand that "like most farmers, I have bonded out negroes and worked them," he referred to a condition that is at the root of many of the evils that afflict the state.

It would have been more appropriate for him, instead of saying "like most farmers," to have said "like others," which would have included some farmers and employers in other lines of Georgia industry.

We do not believe that "most" farmers nor "most" of any other class of employers of negro labor make a practice of "bonding out" negro convicts and working them under peonage conditions.

But, while we do believe that such employers are exceptional to the general rule, it is a proven fact—admitted, in this instance—that the system of "bonding out" and working human beings for payment, is practiced.

The system is vicious and dangerous and it ought to be stopped!

When a man violates the law and the court decrees punishment in the form of "hard labor" for a stated period of time, the state, if anybody, is entitled to his services.

There is plenty of work for convicted law-breakers to do for Georgia in the development of the state's highway system, and, since the state at large suffers by the crime that has been committed, certainly society should be given any benefit accruing from the labor inflicted as punishment.

Under existing conditions, in the operation of this bonding system, the criminal is sent to the chaingang under an alternative sentence—a stated period of time at labor, or the alternative of a fine wholly out of proportion with the labor-value of his time.

Somebody who needs labor, and who can get it more cheaply this way than in the open market, is then permitted to "buy" the convict's services by paying his alternative fine and "working out" the payment.

Thus the convict becomes virtually the slave of his "benefactor," and the state loses the value of this labor.

It is high time this system were being done away with in Georgia.

As The Mobile Register says, in an editorial on "Georgia and Peonage," which we reproduce elsewhere upon this page, "the condition of the public mind is such that the revelations of the crimes committed in Jasper county may in the end prove salutary, as hastening the work of cleaning up lawlessness that lingers in isolated

(From over)

and backward communities."

If nothing else results from the court proceedings in connection with the alleged "murder farm" developments, the probabilities are that the revolting exposures of recent barbarities will mark the end of the abominable practice of "bonding" men out of the chain-gang for the benefit of their labor.

JOHN WILLIAMS OF JASPER

COUNTY - 4/10/21

John Williams of Jasper has done more to bring disgrace and dishonor upon the State of Georgia, and indeed upon the entire South, than any man who ever lived. Indeed he can claim the distinction of having brought the shame to the state and South, and even of the entire nation, before the entire people of the world. For the people everywhere will read of the horrors of Jasper county, Georgia.

How has it been possible that under the very eyes of the greatest nation in all the world and in the very midst of a police power that extends to every nook and cranny of the land this awful crime has been committed? How is it possible that in the glaring light of present day civilization, and before the gaze of churches and schools, business and industry, and almost in the very presence of the law and the courts, a single man with his family mingling with the folk of the marketplace has been able to maintain a slavery of human beings, an institution based upon terror and intimidation and fear, to the extent that years have not seen it brought to light and destroyed it? What indifference, what apathy toward the fate of Negro peons from the neighboring farms with their hundreds of owners, tenants and workers?

How has all this, until now, escaped the law, the church and the law-abiding opinion of Jasper county? Why has Clyde Manning been enslaved to this system of terror and death for fourteen years?

It is just this sort of thing—this indifference, this disposition to let such things go so long as they do not affect us in particular, and so long as "it is just niggers, anyway" that calouses the people to indulge in oppression and peonage and lynching and burning. And the practice of indifference has so grown upon the people, especially where only Negroes are concerned, that nothing short of the wild orgy of blood and death will cause the people to sit up and take notice. The failure to enforce the law, the failure to protect Negro offenders when they fall in the hands of the law, the failure to punish the mob when it tramples the law under foot, as it so often does in Georgia, the fact that in spite of the scores of lynchings and burnings of men after they have already been arrested and have become

subjects of the law and entitled to its protection go unpunished—all this has bred such a strong defiance and contempt and disrespect for the law, that many men do not hesitate to take the law into their own hands and run riot.

If John Williams of Jasper has not been excessive and extravagant in both his peonage persecutions and his murders, he like many others, would have been allowed to go unmolested. Federal courts would have been unable to convict because Negroes would not have dared to give testimony, and the neighborhood "passed it up" as none of its business. But Mr. "Johnny" if the charge be true, was passing barbarous in his persecutions; he was depraved and unmoral in his disregard of human life; his greed for the gold that slavery would bring crazed him to the point of recklessness and abandon as regards Negroes; he must certainly have contemplated that the life of ignorant black farm hands amounted to little in the estimation of the people amongst whom he dwelt; and he doubtless recounted in his mind the scores of horrors and tragedies which have gone unpunished in this state, because it is impossible to identify and convict those who oppress and kill Negroes.

What is to be done about all this? Many are wondering what is to be the outcome of the Williams trial, and what is to be his fate? To us it matters not so much what is to become of Williams as it matters what the state of Georgia and Federal authorities are going to do to break up slavery and peonage and terror all over the state. It matters much whether this state will see to it that Negroes everywhere are freed, and allowed to work out their fate under the protection of just and the courageous protection of governmental authority. It makes a great difference whether Negroes shall be guaranteed their property rights, equal protection before the law, and the safety of life and limb in the rural districts.

The State of Georgia is on trial in the Williams case; the law and the government are on trial before the nation and the world. The people of Georgia too are to be affected by the outcome; for in a measure the respect of our own citizens for the law is involved. Certainly the future fate of Negroes in the farming districts of Georgia depends on this large extent.

We believe the whole state should somehow determine upon a policy which would secure absolute respect for the law, and equal justice to the citizen, whatever his race, whatever his financial condition and whatever his political persuasions. Justice and protection to every man is the way.

THE WILLIAMS VERDICT

One of the most remarkable criminal trials in the history of Georgia has just been concluded with the conviction of the defendant.

A jury composed of twelve good representative white citizens of Newton county, seven of them like the defendant, being farmers have convicted a white man on a charge of murders committed under the most inhumane and revolting circumstances.

The defendant was under investigation on the charge of peonage before these murders were committed.

Federal inspectors had spent several days on his farm investigating that charge.

Shortly after they left eleven negro laborers on the farm were mysteriously killed, and it appears that every one of them had been seen by and given testimony to the federal investigators with reference to the peonage charge.

Three of the murdered blacks were drowned like dogs with bags of rocks suspended by wire and chains from their necks, in Yellow river, in Newton county, just across the Jasper county line.

A negro, Clyde Manning, confessed, and swore on the witness stand that he had not only assisted in the drowning of those men, under duress and the direction of his employer, the defendant, John S. Williams, but that, under similar circumstances, he had either killed or assisted in the killing, of the other eight; and he told the officers exactly where the bodies were buried on the Williams farm.

The officers took him to the scenes of the murders, and the bodies were found exactly where he said they had been placed.

On the witness stand his testimony was unshaken by the defendant's able counsel, nor was its truthfulness disproven in any particular.

No more representative jury ever sat in a Georgia court than that before which this case was tried.

Every natural inclination of those twelve men would have led to an acquittal of the prisoner had there been a shadow of a doubt as to his guilt.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that the evidence was so over-

whelming as to justify no other verdict than that returned.

This being true, the members of this jury are to be warmly commended for the manner in which they sought to obtain the ends of justice.

A few more such evidences of determination to let justice prevail in Georgia—it makes no difference whom or where it hits, in high places or in low, white or black, rich or poor—and the stains against the good name of Georgia will be wiped out.

The time has come when the public sentiment of this state must fight for the observance of the law in Georgia, whether it be in doing away with the damnable viciousness of mob law or in eliminating grafting, official corruption, bunco steering, and all the other venal practices that have been uncovered here recently to an extent that has damned Georgia in the eyes of the world!

Newton county has made a splendid start in that direction!

ATHENS GA BANNER

APRIL 10, 1921

THE WILLIAMS VERDICT.

The verdict of murder returned by a Newton county jury in the case of John S. Williams, alleged slayer of several negroes in Jasper and Newton counties, will meet with the endorsement of all law-abiding citizens. Williams was beyond doubt guilty of the charge of murder and no recommendation for mercy should have been made. If he is guilty of murder, and the evidence is convincing—then he should have received the full punishment of the law which is hanging.

It is inconceivable how a human in a sane frame of mind could have been a party to such a horrible crime of causing and aiding in the murder of these negro farm hands. For his own benefit, it would have been better to have accepted the charge of peonage and entered trial for his violation of the law rather than to do murder or have it done.

However, the conviction of Williams will set at rest the unjust criticism which has been heaped upon the people of the South for lynching negroes guilty of an unspeakable crime. The law should be employed and administered in all cases; the law must be respected and upheld; our courts must be respected and when such cases as the one just tried in Newton county comes to the courts speedy action should be taken and the criminal punished in keeping with the law.

The action of the Newton county jury in returning a verdict of guilt was right and proper, but we believe the jury was over sympathetic with a recommendation for mercy from the court; such criminals should receive the extreme limits of the law and there should be no half grounds. Brutal murders such as was alleged to have been committed by Williams deserve gallows punishment.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

PEONAGE ADMITTED; GEORGIA GOVERNOR SAYS IT MUST END

NEW YORK WORLD
APRIL 2, 1921

Killings on Williams Farm Stir
White Citizens to Demand
Square Deal for Negroes.

PRACTICE NOT GENERAL,
SAYS FEDERAL AGENT.

Law Limiting Offense to Debt
Servitude Blocks Prosecution,
Asserts U. S. Attorney.

By Rowland Thomas.

ATLANTA, Ga., April 1.—"After some communities in Georgia have driven away their farm labor and driven away their farm loans, they will have an opportunity to sit down and think over calmly whether it pays to deal justly with the negro."

The man who said that to-day to The World correspondent here was Hugh M. Dorsey, Governor of Georgia. The unjust practice he referred to was peonage.

"Before this Williams case peters out there'll be a hundred wealthy Georgia farmers in the penitentiary, I reckon, and the sooner the better."

The man who made this observation was a Newton County countryman, standing on the steps of the Covington Court House, and chewing tobacco, yesterday, and he also referred to peonage.

So the chief man of the State, and one typical of thousands of other white citizens, said the same thing in different words to the correspondent who desired to learn the extent of and the exact sentiment toward peonage in Georgia.

Peonage technically is the illegal act of holding a man in personal bondage for debt. But as used popularly both here and in the North the term is broadened to include any case

where by any means a white keeps a negro in involuntary servitude.

Governor Admits Practice.

Those twin utterances above quoted ought to answer the question whether such servitude exists here and how the people feel about it. The Governor not merely admits that peonage does exist but asserts it and makes a challenge of the assertion. Peonage must stop, he says. The countryman talks of its existence casually as New York talks of bootlegging or gunmen, and says men who practice it ought to be in the penitentiary and are going to go there.

The correspondent has yet to meet a Georgia white man who either denies peonage or attempts to condone it or gloss over the situation. Far from meeting resentment or opposition to an inquiry the correspondent has found himself met everywhere he went both courteously and frankly and given generous help.

From the highest to the lowest, from the most intelligent to the simplest minded, the attitude has been, in effect, "There are places in Georgia where the negro has not been getting a square deal. Find out the truth and tell it to the North. We only ask you to tell the whole truth and see and say also how we feel about it and what we are doing to stop it where it exists. Don't bring a blanket indictment against us because some among us are bad citizens. That's all."

To what extent is peonage in the broad sense being practised in Georgia? Two men best qualified to reply definitely to that question answered it for The World to-day. The first was Vincent Hughes, in charge of the Bureau of Investigation of the Federal Department of Justice for the Atlanta district.

Practice Not State-Wide.

"This office receives and investigates every complaint of peonage arising in the territory comprising almost the whole state of Georgia," Mr. Hughes said. "The bulk of our work now is on peonage complaints. We are handicapped in handling many cases because the law is not broad enough. The technical crime of peonage only is committed when involuntary servitude exists on the basis of debts. Many negroes are held in servitude through fear or other coercion, perhaps more thus than for debt. On the basis of the geographical origin of complaints we receive, I should say that peonage is not widespread in the sense of being State-wide. As far as the complaints show, by far the bigger part of Georgia is

free of the practice, which seems to centre in two or three sore spots where social conditions are less advanced."

Pointing to a map, Mr. Hughes indicated Jasper County in mid-Georgia, fifty miles from Atlanta, as the worst place. Jasper is the locality where conditions culminated in the killing of eleven negroes on the Williams plantation. Hughes indicated Jasper's neighbor, Pike County, as another showing symptoms, and pointed out a block of three or four neighboring counties in South Central Georgia as second foci of original complaints.

"Most victims of peonage are country negroes," he went on. "The case of Williams, who got city negroes from stockades, in that respect is different and also in the fact that his meeting resentment or opposition to negroes were day laborers. The majority of complaints we are investigating are cases of tenant farmers working on an arrangement that the land owner supply animals, cottonseed, tools and guano, the tenant contributing labor and getting from a quarter to one-half of the crop, depending on the conditions of the agreement. The tenants usually have no food at plantation commissaries. I have no hesitation in saying the number of complaints reaching us concerning negroes of this class has increased markedly lately. I think the condition of the cotton market has something to do with it. With most farmers still holding last year's crop unsold the temptation to avoid paying out money is very strong, while at the same time they need to hold labor on the plantations to make this year's crop."

"My impression is the bulk of Georgia's white residents are guiltless of such practices, just as my experience is that the bulk of white citizens wholeheartedly back our efforts to stamp out the bad conditions. That attempts are sometimes made to hinder or block investigations proves nothing but the fact that local conditions favor peonage. We expect them and in the long run they cannot hinder us greatly."

Calls Conditions Bad.

The second person seen by the correspondent as specially qualified to discuss definitely the extent of peonage was Hooper Alexander, United States District Attorney for the Atlanta district.

Mr. Alexander said: "My fixed principle is to decline to wash Southern linen in Northern newspapers, because it does no good. Peonage is Georgia's own problem and her people have got to settle it themselves. They can stop it if they make up their minds to and adopt the right methods. I will only say that the present condition is very bad and that this office will do everything in its power to correct it, just as it has tried in the past."

I have sent white men to jail here for peonage. I shall bring a case to

Peonage (G. A.) Williams' Farm

trial next week and hope to get a conviction. For years I have raised my voice here at home stating the conditions and only have been abused or derided. I shall not raise it any more here or anywhere else except in court. But I shall investigate every complaint. I shall seek indictment in every case where I get evidence and I shall try my best to send every indicted man to the Federal Penitentiary, where he belongs."

Mr. Alexander, like Mr. Hughes, discussed the big loophole in the peonage statute which limits the offense to debt servitude. He said: "The case of Sheriff W. H. Persons of Jasper County, which I hope to try soon, though commonly referred to as peonage, is not that. The charge against Persons is kidnapping a negro into slavery. That was the only possible charge. We allege that a negro from his place came to Atlanta and that Persons came here and took him back to Jasper County and made him work there. If he could have prevented the negro's departure from the county, we could not have touched him, no matter how clear the facts about involuntary servitude might have been, so long as no question of debt was involved."

So much for the question of the existence of peonage. All Georgia admits it. How do Georgia people in general feel about such a situation?

The correspondent's unqualified answer to that question is that every decent white man and woman in Georgia—which means at least 90 per cent. of the State's white population—is as deeply outraged and indignant over the recent revelations as any other part of the country can be. This conclusion was reached as follows: The correspondent came South, feeling the discussion of the prevalence of peonage here was going to be a ticklish topic, likely to lead to evasions and arouse resentments as criticism from an intruding outsider.

Instead of this he found in Atlanta all the numerous business and professional persons he met raised the question themselves and were outspoken both in admission of conditions and determination to have the evils removed. This is the attitude of men of vision and education.

The correspondent, then going to the rural districts of Newton County, still expected to find dissent to the attitude there. Again he was disappointed. The same frankness, the same indignation and the same determination to give the Georgia negro a square deal from white men everywhere was manifest among farmers and small town business men of rugged, pure American stock. During two days I got acquainted with probably a hundred of them on the Court House steps or round stoves in stores.

View of Farmers.

I got a very definite impression that not one of those men were willing to stand for any mistreatment of a negro both for sentimental and practical reasons. They needed the negro, years and that decrees had been entered in all of them.

Regular on Their Faces.

On their faces, the decrees granted in Kings are perfectly regular and were granted after the trial justices

were satisfied of sufficient cause for divorce. Only exhaustive investigation can determine whether any was collusive as, it is charged, were some of those Miller tried in White Plains.

Meanwhile, District Attorney Davis of Westchester was obtaining yesterday what he later described as "direct proof" that Miller had been in the habit of "faking" entire divorce proceedings, including the testimony of witnesses who never appeared in court, and had forged the signature of a Supreme Court Justice to findings of fact and interlocutory decrees.

This corroboration of District Attorney Davis's suspicion was obtained from a former clerk in Mr. Miller's office, who will testify before the Grand Jury in White Plains next Thursday that he witnessed Miller composing and typing in his office false summonses and complaints in divorce actions, fictitious testimony on findings and forging Supreme Court Justice Tompkins's signature to findings and decrees which Miller afterward filed in the County Clerk's office in White Plains.

Employed 12 "Witnesses."

Information has come to Assistant District Attorney Walter A. Ferris in White Plains that Miller employed at least eleven women to act as his "witnesses" in the divorce cases. These women have been insincere and have succeeded in hoodwinking not only him but also those highly competent Georgian observers, any person asserting that Georgia will tolerate further peonage because the persecutors are white and the victims colored risks the suspicion of not speaking from first-hand observation. On the contrary, the condition of the public mind seems such that the revelations in Jasper County, hideous and revolting as they were, may in the end prove salutary by causing a prompt and permanent clean-up of something which might otherwise have lingered long unobserved in isolated and backward communities.

GRAHAM WRIGHT NAMED TO ASSIST SOLICITOR BRAND

Assistant Attorney-General Will Be Only Representative of State at Williams.

12-SENTATIVE
NEGRO IN CASE

Wright Takes Part in Trial in Covington in Order to Be Prepared for Jasper County Probe.

(over)

With the trial of John S. Williams, under indictment for murder in connection with the killing of eleven negroes on and near his Jasper county farm, set for Tuesday in Covington, chief developments in the case were centered in Atlanta Friday night when it was learned that Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has designated Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright as the only assistant of Solicitor A. M. Brand in the prosecution next week and that negotiations for a prominent Augusta lawyer to represent Clyde Manning are under way.

Both the governor and Solicitor-General Brand denied the reports of Friday afternoon that the former was attempting to secure a well-known Georgia attorney to assist in the prosecution. The solicitor had already requested the assistance of Mr. Wright, it was stated, while the assistant attorney-general had also informed the chief executive that it was his desire to participate in the Newton county trial owing to his interests in the Jasper county investigations.

Governor Grants Request.

Since the Newton county charge of murder against Williams will be the same as advanced against him when Mr. Wright appears before the Jasper county grand jury April 11, he informed the governor that he would be placed in a better position to proceed with his prosecution if allowed to participate in the Covington trial. Governor Dorsey, accordingly, granted the request of the assistant attorney-general and Solicitor Brand.

While no official announcement has been made, it is understood that William Howard, a prominent Augusta attorney, is being requested to defend Manning, the negro whose confession implicated Williams in the murders. Mr. Howard, however, when called over long distance telephone by The Constitution, refused to state whether he had decided to accept the case.

"When Governor Dorsey decided to send Mr. Wright to Jasper county to lead the prosecution of the charges against Williams and his sons," said Solicitor Brand, "I immediately requested him to allow the assistant attorney-general to aid in Newton county."

Evidence to Be Same.

"The evidence we will use next week will largely be the same as submitted to the Jasper county grand jury and Mr. Wright will also have an opportunity to familiarize himself with the procedure of the defense."

"It was understood," he continued, "since I made this request and conferred with Mr. Wright that he was to participate in the Newton county trial. I know nothing of the employment of any other counsel."

Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, remained in Atlanta Friday preparing for the trial. He held a long conference with his client in the Fulton county tower, where he has been held since his arrest last week. While Mr. Johnson stated Thursday that it was possible that he might not be ready for trial Wednesday, it is believed now that he will be fully prepared.

Preparing for Trial.

Solicitor Brand spent a busy day in Newton and Jasper counties Friday preparing for the trial of Williams. He was accompanied on his tour of investigation by Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of the Newton county superior court, who has taken a leading part in probe of the "death farm."

"So far as investigations in Jasper county are concerned," Sheriff Johnson informed The Constitution on his return, "we are through. As you know, we have no jurisdiction in Jasper, and it is not our desire to intervene in the affairs of its officials. Most of our work today has been confined to Newton county. There were several problems in the cases against Williams which needed clearing, and it was for this purpose that we made our probe today."

With a number of federal agents at his disposal, Solicitor Brand has been directing the investigation, and he stated that he was now ready for the trial. He would not reveal the line of procedure he will take in the trial, but indicated that he had corroborated Manning's confession.

Jasper Investigation.

In Jasper county, investigation of both the peonage and murder cases are being pushed. Sheriff W. J. Persons told The Constitution over the long distance telephone. While these cases are being probed by the officials, the lynching of Eugene Anderson, a negro, is also being investigated by federal and county officials.

"We are making a very rigid investigation of all clues and evidence in our hands," said the sheriff. "This afternoon we went to the Williams farm to investigate rumors we had received here to the effect that several of the negroes on and near the place had disappeared during the past several weeks. All the parties reported missing, however, were found at their homes."

The sheriff was asked if he expected any sensational developments to result from his investigations.

"As the case now stands, we are depending in a large measure on the evidence which will be put at our disposal by Solicitor Brand, Sheriff B. L. Johnson and federal agents. With this evidence and that which we have gathered ourselves during the past week," he continued, "we expect important developments when the grand jury convenes here Monday week."

Not Seeking More Bodies.

Sheriff Persons was then asked to state whether any search had been made for more missing bodies, and he replied in the negative.

"At present we have no evidence which would aid us in any search. My deputies, however, are busily engaged on the case, and we may have some announcement relative to a search after the grand jury meets."

Vincent Hughes, head of the federal agents in Georgia, stated that Clyde Manning, the negro whose confession implicated Williams in the murder of the eleven negroes had given government officials some valuable information regarding alleged peonage cases on the Williams plantation. He reported that the investigation was proceeding satisfactorily, and that considerable evidence had been amassed.

JURORS CHOSEN DECK IS CLEARED TO HEAR HIS STORY

First Day of Hearing Is Free From Disorder. Extra Deputies on Duty in Courtroom.

Atlanta Constitution
MAY CONCLUDE CASE BEFORE END OF WEEK

Defense to Fight Effort of State to Prove Death of Peterson Was One of Many.

Williams Jury Chosen.

Covington, Ga., April 5. — The jury to try John S. Williams on a charge of murder of one of the eleven of his negro farm hands, alleged to have been slain to hide peonage, was completed here early this afternoon. It is composed of seven farmers, two merchants, a clerk, a barber and a druggist, as follows:

T. L. Hill, farmer; G. W. Gober, farmer; Robert Stanton, farmer; W. A. Pate, merchant; Charles A. Cason, farmer; W. C. Moore, farmer; T. R. Starr, farmer; Byron Thacker, grocery clerk; F. G. Crowley, merchant; J. T. Denard, farmer; J. E. Rawlins, barber; Reginald Robinson, druggist.

BY MARION KENDRICK.

Constitution, Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 5. — (Special)

With the jury completed Tuesday in the trial of John S. Williams for murder, Clyde Manning will tell once again his story of the eleven gruesome negro killings in the vicinity of Jasper county's notorious "death farm" when he is placed on the stand Wednesday morning as one of the state's first witnesses, while a long, spirited legal battle is expected between the prosecution and defense over admission of certain evidence. This was indicated here late tonight, following separate conferences of counsel for both sides.

After a day that was marked with frequent clashes between Greene F.

Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, and ex-Congressman William Schley Howard and Solicitor General A. M. Brand, of the prosecution. Judge John B. Hutcheson adjourned court until 9 o'clock Wednesday morning. This action brought about a sudden change in the reported line of procedure of the state, and other plans were made for the morning session of court. Williams is charged with the murder of Lindsey Peterson.

Clyde Manning, the negro whose confession led to the arrest of Williams, and Clyde Freeman, a negro trusty on the Williams farm, were brought to Covington on the afternoon train. Eight negro witnesses who had been taken from the "murder farm," were brought from Atlanta to Covington Monday night. Williams, Manning and all the witnesses spent Tuesday night in the county jail here.

Manning will be the first witness to take the stand, after the state

WU NEGROES TELL
OF "MURDER FARM"

U. S. Grand Jury Adjourns Until April 25, When the Probe Will Be Resumed.

Constitution 4/6/21
The federal grand jury, after a brief session Tuesday morning, adjourned until April 25, when it will reconvene to continue its investigation of alleged peonage conditions in Jasper county and of other important matters with which it is faced.

Two witnesses were examined by the jury Tuesday morning with regard to the case of J. S. Williams. The Jasper county planter now on trial in Covington for his alleged crimes on the "murder farm," Gus Chapman, one of those interrogated Tuesday morning, is an Atlanta negro who stated that he ran away from the Williams plantation, was caught, taken back to Jasper county and beaten. His second escape he made good.

Jones Strickland, another negro was found here in the stockade, where he had been placed under a vagrancy charge. He also had claimed to be a "refugee" from the Williams plantation, having walked to Atlanta, it is declared. The evidence before the grand jurors Tuesday was presented by Assistant District Attorney James W. Finley. A number of true bills were returned for violations of the narcotic and prohibition laws, most of them for minor offenses.

Official Search Fails to Locate Williams' Sons

BY MARION KENDRICK.
(Staff Correspondent The Constitution) 4/8/21

Covington, Ga., April 7. — Continued absence of the three stalwart sons of John Williams from the

scene of their father's battle for his life today gave credence to the report that all of them had departed from Georgia for parts unknown. Further corroboration of the report was furnished by the sheriff of Jasper county, who had visited the Williams plantation since the famous "murder farm" trial opened. He declared that he had searched high and low for the boys there, but could not find them or information as to their whereabouts.

The fact that all three of the boys were intimately acquainted with the farm work and conditions and were expected to prove valuable witnesses for their father in his attempt to bring down the accusing story of the negro, Clyde Manning, lent further color to the report of their disappearance, when the defense rested its case on the lone and unsworn statement of the farmer himself.

DR. WILLIAMS EXPECTED BROTHERS.

Dr. Gus Williams, the fourth son has been a constant attendant on his father's trial. According to his own statement, he has been expecting his brothers in Covington daily. Only Wednesday night he had declared to newspaper reporters, "They will be here tomorrow."

Asked tonight why they had no appeared as witnesses, he could give no answer. He asserted that he had heard from them as late as last Friday, but admitted that he had no word from them since that time.

The reports that they had departed have been rife for days, but nothing tangible was known until the Jasper county sheriff's report today. He declared that on his way to Covington he had passed the Williams place, about twelve miles from Monticello. The house was deserted and farm employees denied knowledge of the whereabouts of the young men.

JOHN WILLIAMS PROUD OF SONS.

It was a pathetic feature of the trial today when John Williams practically opened his statement to the jury with proud reference to his sons. He told how, just as soon as the call to arms sounded in 1917 they had all four responded and had all four served gallantly during the war.

Although the boys, Huland, Marvin and LeRoy, were intimately connected with the father in the operation of the farm, no indictment has been returned against them in either state or federal courts.

BLACKWELL GIVES BOND TO APPEAR FOR PEONAGE TRIAL

Constitution 5/12/21
Macon, Ga., May 11. — J. Warren Blackwell, farmer of Jasper county, indicted by the federal grand jury of the northern district of Georgia while in session in Atlanta last year on a charge of peonage was given a preliminary hearing today before the United States commissioner in Macon, and gave bond of \$1,500 for his appearance at the next term of federal court in Fulton county.

Blackwell came to Macon voluntarily for the hearing.

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions.

WITNESSES REPORT WILLARD CONNELL ENMITY OF NEGROES ACQUITTED BY JURY AT PEONAGE TRIAL

ATLANTA GA EVE JOURNAL No Arguments Offered,
APRIL 7, 1921

Introduction of a number of witnesses who swore that there had been considerable friction between Cornelius Alexander, the negro whom the government claims was held in peonage on the Connell plantation in Pike county, and Cap Chum, another negro on the same plantation, featured the Thursday morning session of the trial in the federal court of Willard Connell, prominent young Pike county farmer charged by the government with peonage.

James Dewberry, a negro who said he worked on the plantation owned by Franklin Huff, said that Cornelius Alexander came to his house on the Monday night, previous to the Saturday when he disappeared and wanted to buy a gun from him. The witness swore that Alexander told him that he wanted the gun to protect himself against Cap Chum.

"Cornelius told me that Cap Chum had taken his wife, and had threatened his life," the witness testified, "and that he wanted a gun to protect himself."

The witness said that he did not let Cornelius have the gun, as he said he wouldn't sell anybody a gun to kill anybody with.

Dewberry further testified that within five minutes after Cornelius had been at his house, Cap Chum came up in a car with a woman. He said he did not see who the woman was.

"Goat" Williamson, a negro farm hand, told of alleged trouble between Cap Chum and Cornelius Alexander, just before Cornelius disappeared.

Judge Lloyd Cleveland, of Griffin; Judge J. J. Flint, of Griffin, and Judge L. P. Goodrich, counsel for the defense, testified during the morning concerning statements made by Phil Moore and Oliver Slaton, before the trial.

Phil Moore and Slaton, when put on the stand by the government testified that they had made statements because they had been told to do so, and were afraid to do anything else. They said the statements they made were lies.

Judge Cleveland read the statement which he said he took from Phil Moore, and declared that Moore made the statement voluntarily, and that there were no threats made to him in his presence. Judge Cleveland further testified that Moore told him just before the government put him on the stand that he made the statement.

Judge Cleveland also read the statement made by Oliver Slaton, which the judge said he also took. He said that Slaton made the statement voluntarily. Judge Flint and Judge Goodrich corroborated the testimony of Judge Cleveland.

Willard Connell, the defendant, was expected to take the stand late Thursday or early Friday morning. The defense did not expect to conclude its case until late Friday, and it was expected that the case would not reach the jury until Saturday.

State Introducing Two Witnesses in Rebuttal of Testimony of Defense.

Willard Connell, Pike county farmer who has been on trial in the United States district court for peonage, was Friday acquitted by the jury on its first ballot. The case had been on trial before Judge Sam Sibley since Monday morning.

The case went to the jury after Judge Sibley had delivered a charge to the jury embracing the peonage laws and laws covering circumstantial evidence. There were no arguments, the only procedure after the defense had announced its case closed being the introduction of two witnesses in rebuttal by District Attorney Hooper Alexander, directing the prosecution.

Connell, after the jury had rendered its verdict, said:

"I knew they would do it. It was just a case of a gang of negroes who owed me about \$3,000 and thought they could beat us out of it this way."

This statement was supplemented by Judge Lloyd Cleveland, of Griffin, who assisted Reuben R. Arnold as defense counsel, who said that the statement of Connell was in no way to be taken as a reflection on the district attorney's office.

The peonage charge against Connell was brought after the decapitated body of Cornelius Alexander, a negro farm hand, had been found in a swamp of the Flint river near Connell's place. The conflicting testimony of negroes, who told of enmity existing between Alexander and Cap Chum, another negro from the farm there, is believed to have influenced the jury in its decision. The case attracted wide interest, on account of its similarity to the sensational case of the "murder farm" in Jasper county, and the courtroom was crowded during the trial with prominent Pike county people.

NEW 'MURDER FARM' FOUND IN GEORGIA

N. Y. C. SUN
APRIL 25, 1921

Is Similar to That of Williams in Jasper County.

ATLANTA, Ga., April 25.—Another "murder farm" similar to that of John E. Williams in Jasper county has been reported to the Federal authorities here. Government investigators who have been

working to abolish peonage conditions on Georgia plantations are to begin an immediate search for the bodies of slain negro farm hands which are reported to have been hidden there.

Business men and merchants in a town in the southern part of the State have written repeatedly to the Federal authorities at Atlanta complaining of the "unthinkable treatment" given negro farm hands on the farm. These letters urged a Government investigation and promised that startling evidence of the mistreatment of enslaved negroes would result.

Hooper Alexander, United States District Attorney, admitted to-day that he had received complaints about conditions on the new "murder farm."

"In the letters reaching my office the residents of the southern Georgia community informed me that we would find 'conditions that were unthinkable,'" the prosecutor said. "I have forwarded all complaints to the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice and doubtless its special agents will conduct an investigation into the truth of the reports."

"It must be remembered that the town is in the southern district and therefore without the jurisdiction of the northern district. I have therefore no direct connection with the new 'murder farm.'"

Federal Attorney Alexander revealed that his office had received other reports of peonage conditions on other plantations in the State. These complaints had been handed over to the Federal investigators, he said.

"Brutal treatment of enslaved negroes is complained of in reports reaching me every day," he said. "Some of them tell of slaying of negro farm workers in various parts of the State."

"Many such instances are now being looked into. It is evident that we cannot permit such conditions to exist without suffering some terrible retribution."

MURDER FARM CHARGE LAID TO FAMILY FUED

U. G. B. Hogan Says Merchant Was Angry, as Woman in Case Was Expelled by Deacons.

PLANTATION LOCATED IN LAURENS COUNTY

Three Negroes Killed, But All Cases Were Properly Reported and Probed, Says Hogan.

Constitution 4/2/21
BY MARION KENDRICK,
(Constitution Staff Correspondent.)

Dublin, Ga., May 1.—(Special).—An old family, fued, founded on trouble caused by negroes, alleged improper relations between a Dexter merchant and a woman, which resulted in the latter's expulsion

Peonage (Georgia)

from the town's Baptist church, and disputes over business transactions are all entwined in the investigation by federal agents of U. G. B. Hogan, prominent banker and farmer residing thirteen miles from here, on allegations of several white men that peonage exists on his large plantation and that several negroes have been murdered there.

For more than a week official reports have been emanating from District Attorney Hooper Alexander's offices and the federal bureau of investigation in Atlanta to the effect that they had received information that a second "murder farm" had been located in south Georgia. Agents of the bureau arrived in Laurens county last Tuesday and remained here until Saturday, when it was authoritatively learned that the Hogan plantation was the plantation they had investigated.

Cases Probed, Says Hogan.

While admitting to a Constitution correspondent this afternoon that three negroes had met their death on his plantation, Hogan asserted there was nothing "shady" about these cases and that all had been investigated by officials.

He declared that the investigation last week was the result of a conspiracy of four men to ruin him and that he was ready at any time to face his accusers.

"Three charges that negroes have been murdered on my farm at my instructions are lies," he said. "I knew federal authorities were investigating my farm last week and I sent word to them to come out to see me. I never saw anything of them. They were sent here as the result of a frame-up of four men to ruin me."

"I know exactly the men who reported here. Hogan named three prominent Dexter men and a man from another county."

"I don't mind telling you the trouble that caused them to write officials. I don't know what peonage is, but I do know that no negro have been murdered here at my instructions. Some blacks have been killed on and near the farm however, but their deaths were investigated."

Tells of Killings.

"John Whipple, who had shot a me and for whom I had issued a warrant, was killed by officers of the law when he resisted arrest. This happened several years ago."

"Short Robinson killed another negro by the name of Mincey about ten years ago, and Thomas was found drowned in a well. I was not on the farm at the time his body was found, and the matter was properly handled by officials of the law."

The farmer was seated in an auto in front of his residence, which is one of the most beautiful and modern in Laurens county. The house is situated on the top of a long,

sloping hill. For several miles around, one views a stretch of highly cultivated land, green with oats corn and other crops.

"Look at this," continued Hogan, with a smile and gesture toward the many acres, "do you think I would work for years to build up such a farm and then risk losing it by killing negroes?"

Tells of Church Trial.

With a worried expression on his sun-burned face, and occasionally running his hands through a mass of red hair, the farmer then told how he, as deacon of the Dexter Baptist church, had taken part in proceedings which resulted in the expulsion of a woman charged with improper relations with a married merchant of the same town. After the woman had been expelled, he stated, the merchant purchased cartridges for his pistol and threatened to kill the farmer on sight.

He not only threatened to kill me," stated the farmer, "but he declared he was going to get even with all of us, the members of the board of trustees. I regret that we had to take such action on the matter, but their relations became the talk of the town."

"One of our respectable women requested the woman to change her way of living, and told her that all the boys in town were talking about her. This didn't do any good, though, and we were forced to take action."

"This merchant is one of the four men who have given federal agents false information about my farm. One of the others is a relative of mine. Our trouble started years ago," he continued, "when a negro who owed me some money for his previous year's crop and had received an advance from me for his new year's work, left and went to this man's farm."

Hogan Lost Money.

Hogan then said how he had gone to the relative and had explained his business connections with the negro. He made the other farmer a proposition to either pay him the money the negro owed or allow him to return to the Hogan farm. Both his request and permission to talk with the negro were refused, he said, which resulted in Hogan's loss of the money due him. There have been other instances besides this one, he asserted.

"There have been many times since then when I thought we had patched up our troubles," he said, "but every time I have been wrong. I learned last night that he had carried a man to the federal agents to give some kind of information regarding my farm. I have worried, of course. Who wouldn't, with such charges being brought against him? They are false, and I know everything will come out all right in the end."

Hogan then gave an account of a controversy among officials and directors of a bank of which he was at that time a member of the board, and one of the largest stockholders. The bank had been closed, and it was the desire of some of the officials, he stated, to sell all cotton held by the institution. The market price was very low and Hogan said he objected. He particularly objected to one of the officials handling the deal, according to his statement.

Reopened the Bank.

Later Hogan went to Atlanta and with several other Dexter citizens put up the money necessary to reopen the institution of which he is now vice president. Concerning his difficulties with the other man, whom he charges with having given government officials information, the farmer did not discuss.

"I don't think the federal officers treated me squarely," he added. "If charges were made against you

(over)

(From Over)

would you be getting a square deal if officials went to your enemies to get information?"

"I wanted them to come to see me to make such investigations as they desired right here on the farm—but they didn't come. I don't know what they discovered while in Dexter," he concluded.

The Hogan farm, which comprises several thousand acres, is known throughout the state as a model plantation.

Forty Negroes Employed.

Owned by R. C. Hogan and U. G. B. Hogan, it is managed by the latter. Approximately forty mules are worked on the place. About the same number of negroes are employed, and Hogan asserted that not one of these is held against his will. Trucks, tractors and other machinery are used to a large extent in the cultivation of the plantation.

The brothers are well known in this section, R. C. Hogan being the manager of the Hogan brothers' store in Dexter. The two were formerly interested in an automobile agency in Macon. U. G. B. Hogan is best known in Laurens county as "Boney" Hogan. He is married and has several children.

FEDERAL MEN PROBING ALLEGED MURDER FARM

Constitution 5/4/21

Dublin, Ga., May 3.—(Special.)—With the official report of federal agents having been in the possession of Vincent Hughes, head of the Atlanta bureau of investigation, since Saturday, sensational developments are expected in the alleged second "murder farm" case during the next few days, it was authoritatively learned here tonight.

Following the receipt of allegations that peonage conditions exist, and that several negroes had been killed on the large plantation of "Bony" Hogan and R. C. Hogan, thirteen miles from here, federal agents investigated the farm last week, but no announcement has been made of the result.

There still is much excitement in Dexter over the charges made by "Bony" Hogan Sunday that four men had conspired to ruin him, and that the federal investigation was the result of their reports to authorities, but no clash between the two factions is expected.

Hogan has retained Judge John S. Adams, prominent Dublin attorney, to defend him in case any indictments are returned against him. The planter has announced that he is considering taking legal action against the men who brought "false accusations against him."

THREE JENKINS FARMERS CHARGED WITH PEONAGE

Constitution 5/4/21

Savannah, Ga., August 30.—(Special.)—Three Jenkins county farmers, Allen Hook, Lester Hooks and Rema Hart, were today held for the federal court here on a charge of peonage, their bonds being fixed at \$3,000 each. They are charged with holding in peonage three colored persons, Bishop Harmon and William Darby and wife. The negroes declare that their masters put ropes around their necks and threatened them.

LOCATION OF ALLEGED PEON FARM IN GEORGIA IS GIVEN

Owner of Laurens County Place Said to Be Under Investigation, Declares Reports Made to Federal Agents Is Work of Enemies in Business; Explains Deaths of Three Negroes

(Associated Press)

ATLANTA, GA., May 1.—The plantation in Southern Georgia where federal agents had been investigating reports that at least three negroes had been killed to hide peonage conditions is that of U. G. B. Hogan, wealthy planter of Laurens county, according to dispatches received here tonight from Dublin, Ga.

The dispatches quoted the planter as declaring that he knew that such a report had been spread, that when the investigators came to the county he invited them to come to see him personally, and that the death of the negroes were in no wise connected with peonage and had been "properly handled by officials of the law." The reports were spread by enemies he had made in business affairs and in action he and other trustees of a church had taken, he continued.

Of the three negroes killed, he said, according to the dispatches, one of them, John Robinson was killed by officers of the law in resisting arrest. The negro had shot at him, Hogan explained. He took out a warrant, he added and it was in resisting service of the warrant that the negro was killed. Another negro named Mincey was killed on or near the farm some ten years ago by a negro named Robinson, and the third negro, named Thomas was drowned in a well. All the cases had been investigated he said.

The Hogan plantation comprises several thousand acres and is equipped with modern farm machinery and has often been described as one of the "model" farms of Georgia.

"Look at this," Hogan was quoted as saying, pointing across his many acres. "Do you think I would work for years to build up such a farm, and then risk losing it by killing negroes?"

The plantation is owned by U. G. B. Hogan and his brother, R. C. Hogan and is managed by the former. About forty negroes are employed on the place which works some forty mules and a number of tractors and trucks.

The federal bureau of investigation here has not yet made any statement regarding its investigation.

NEGROES ARRESTED IN PEONAGE PROBE

Constitution 5/4/21

Dublin, Ga., May 10.—(Special.)—Following the arrest of "Bony" Hogan on a warrant charging peonage

and his subsequent release in bond of \$5,000, after being carried to Macon Tuesday afternoon, federal agents continued their investigations at the plantation tonight and arrested five negroes to be held as material witnesses.

The negroes were carried to Macon immediately, where they will be examined again by officials. Two of the blacks, Walter Louse and Jim Smith, were named in the warrant on which Hogan was arrested. Smith was cited in the document as being held for "real or pretended debt," and Louse as being forcibly brought back to work out a debt to Hogan.

Ambus Walker, who is said to act in the capacity of a foreman on the large plantation, "Yellow Will," and LeRoy Brown are the other blacks being held. Hogan's employees are leaving him, it is stated, and it is also reported he has appealed to the sheriff of Laurens county for protection.

Not only will the agents push their charges of peonage against the prominent planter, who is also an official of a Dexter bank, but they will also make a thorough investigation of several alleged murders on the plantation, it was stated. Several reliable witnesses have given the officers information concerning the alleged killings.

Despite the fact Hogan was under investigation for peonage in 1915, he declared, on his arrest, that he did not know what violations of the law constituted peonage.

"I don't know what peonage means, and the charge that I am responsible for murder of any negroes on my farm is false," he said.

Hogan Is Arrested.

Macon, Ga., May 10.—Charged with peonage, U. G. B. Hogan, manager of Hogan Brothers' farm at Dexter, near Dublin, was taken into custody by Deputy United States marshals today and brought to Macon. A preliminary hearing will be held before the United States commissioner in Macon later in the day.

For some time it has been known that agents of the department of justice had been investigating alleged peonage conditions on the Hogan Brothers' farm, and shortly after accounts of the investigation were published, U. G. B. Hogan made a statement, in which he said he had known of the investigations, but denied reports that peonage conditions existed on his place.

Investigation of alleged peonage conditions on the Hogan Brothers' farm was made by a federal grand jury in Macon, in October, 1915, when a no-bill was returned.

Hogan was brought to Macon by Deputy Marshals M. L. Cooper and Charles Moseley, arriving here at 3 o'clock this afternoon. He was accompanied by his brother, J. A. Hogan; Alex Knight, Sheriff Lester Watson, Jerome Kennedy and his attorney, Judge J. S. Adams, of Dublin. Mr. Kennedy stood the bond

for \$5,000.

Reporters endeavored to gain a statement from Hogan, but both he and his counsel, Charles Akerman, refused to talk.

Hogan is the manager of the Hogan brothers' farm of about 2,600 acres, near Dexter. He owns a beautiful colonial home, and is a man of prominence in Laurens county. It is estimated that the men who came to Macon with him are worth \$1,000,000.

The warrant against Hogan was directed by District Attorney Bennett after a conference Monday night with Vincent Hughes, special agent in charge of the bureau of investigation, and Billups Harris, division superintendent of the bureau of investigation.

NEGROES TO BE IN JAIL UNTIL PEONAGE TRIAL

Constitution 5/12/21

Macon, Ga., May 11.—(Special.) The ten negroes who were brought to Macon at midnight Tuesday night to be held as witnesses against U. G. B. Hogan, Laurens county planter, charged with peonage, will be held in jail here pending the hearing to be given Hogan on May 23. The negroes have been unable to make bonds of \$100 assessed against them.

If Hogan is bound over at his preliminary hearing before the United States commissioner the latter part of the month, his trial before Judge Evans will not be held until some time next year, it is understood. Before he can be tried he will first have to be indicted by the grand jury, and no federal grand jury will convene here before October. After that the next regular term of the United States district court will be in the spring of 1922.

ATLANTA GA GEORGIAN
APRIL 26, 1921

NEW PEONAGE CASE SCENTED

Department of Justice agents were put on the trail Tuesday of four Jasper County men who arrested a negro, Tom Walker of 152 Randolph street, with the aid of Policeman C. F. Wills, early Monday night.

Vincent Hughes, chief of the Atlanta Bureau of the department, said he saw in the incident a defiance of recent efforts of federal and State authorities to end peonage conditions in Georgia agricultural counties.

"Some of my best men are at work on this case," he said, "and we will keep on it until we have developed all the facts and arrested those responsible."

Mr. Hughes questioned at length Lena Walker, wife of the missing negro. She identified two of the four men as being Oscar Thomas and John Smith, owners of plantations near the John S. Williams "murder farm." She

said she and her husband worked on the Smith farm two months without pay.

Officials said there is a brother-in-law of Williams named Oscar Thomas, but they had not established Tuesday if this was the Thomas concerned.

The four men, two of whom wore soldier uniforms, went to the negro's home early Monday night. They said they had a warrant charging Walker with kidnaping another negro, Zollie Head, who accompanied them to Atlanta when they fled from Jasper county two months. Policeman Wills arrested Walker and placed him in the custody of the four men. They then disappeared.

Walker's wife said Head was 24 years old and had left the Smith farm with them. She denied there was any basis for the kidnaping charge. Sheriff W. E. Persons told federal agents Tuesday he knew of no warrant for Walker's arrest.

Discussing the general peonage situation Tuesday Mr. Hughes said the Department of Justice would furnish any number of agents necessary to bring all peonage offenders to justice if this was desired by Governor Dorsey. He said the department could take no cognizance of "night riders" as there was no federal law involved.

J. B. Stribling, prominent farmer of Pike County, was indicted for peonage by the federal grand jury Monday evening.

ATLANTA GA EVE JOURNAL
MAY 6, 1921

White Men Held In Peonage Also, Complaints Declare

"White men, as well as negroes, are being held in peonage in Georgia, according to complaints and reports reaching my office," United States Attorney Hooper Alexander declared Friday.

The district attorney received a communication from persons in the western part of the state to the effect that a young white man "was bought for \$70 in cash and held in peonage until he worked out the purchase price." Attempts by the alleged peon to escape from the farm on which he was held were several times frustrated by friends and employees of the owner of the plantation, the district attorney's informants declared.

Mr. Alexander was undecided as to what course he would pursue in the case. He intimated that he might pass the information on to the department of justice, or that he might call on his informants for additional information before taking action.

"At any rate, this case is typical of many others in the state where people, both white and black, are being mistreated and held in peonage and slavery," he said.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

NEGRO WITNESSES ON "MURDER FARM"

WANT TO RETURN

Three of the negro witnesses in the John Williams Jasper county "murder farm" case, who are now confined in the Fulton county Tower, have written Williams' attorneys that they want to be released from jail and desire to return to the Williams farm. W. H. Key, one of Williams' lawyers, told department of justice agents Thursday.

Mr. Key called on Vincent Hughes head of the department in the southeast, and told him of the request made by the negroes and asked if something could be done to bring about their release so that they could go back to the "murder farm." Mr. Hughes informed Mr. Key he would take the matter under consideration.

The three negroes who want to return are Will Johnson, Claude Freeman and Julius Manning, brother of Clyde Manning, star witness against John Williams.

Ten negroes from Williams' farm are being held in the Fulton Tower as witnesses in peonage charges pending against Williams and his three sons in the federal court.

BOY ESCAPED

WILLIAMS' FARM

The Associated Press
North Carolina Minister
Tells Of Taking Him From
White Train Conductor
In Salisbury

In a moving recital of adverse conditions as they exist in some parts of the South toward the colored people, Rev. W. W. Matthews foreign mission secretary of the A. M. E. Zion Church, told the Philadelphia and Baltimore Conference of that denomination last Saturday of the arrest of a 17-year old boy named Hart at Salisbury, N. C., who had escaped from the Williams peonage farm down in Georgia.

The boy had been arrested by railroad hands for stealing a ride on a train. At Salisbury on the promise of the white conductor to take him to Washington and place him in his (the conductor's) home, Rev. Matthews demanded to know what provision the conductor intended making for the boy's education.

Receiving an unsatisfactory reply, the minister then demanded that the boy be given over to his care, and he is now domiciled at Livingstone College.

Dr. Matthews said the boy told him that his mother is still on the peonage farm and that his father escaped from there once.

The ministers were discussing a resolution introduced by Rev. F. R. Killingsworth, which arraigned the Ku Klux Klan, peonage, lynching and other conditions that operate

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

Blacks Through Fear of Death by Employer.

Clyde Manning, negro farm boss for John S. Williams, will enter a plea of not guilty when his trial for murder of one of the eleven negroes killed on or near the Williams farm, begins in Covington today, according to his attorney, E. Marvin Underwood.

The negroes were killed to hide alleged peonage conditions after a federal investigation was started last February, according to claims of the prosecution in the trial of Williams, who was convicted recently and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Manning, chief witness for the state in the trial of Williams, told the jury he took part in killing all three of the negroes who are alleged to have been brought into this county and drowned, but asserted he did so under fear of death if he disobeyed his employer. He would go free under Georgia law, if he could prove this to the satisfaction of the jury at his trial.

Mr. Underwood, employed to represent the negro by a group of Atlantans interested in promoting better feeling between the races, has obtained orders from federal authorities to bring to the trial Clyde Freeman and several other former negro employees of Williams now held as material witnesses in the peonage charges. They are to be used by the defense in its efforts to prove that Manning was in mortal fear of Williams. Mr. Underwood has been quoted as saying additional evidence to that given at the Williams trial will be produced.

Williams and Manning were indicted charged with murder of a Newton county grand jury and later both of them, and three of Williams' sons, were also indicted for murder by a grand jury in Jasper county, where the farm is situated. Williams' three sons are fugitives from justice, and he has not been brought to trial in Jasper county pending the outcome of his appeal for a new trial before the state supreme court. Jasper county authorities also are awaiting the outcome of Manning's trial here before taking steps to try him. Peonage indictments also have been returned against Williams and the three sons.

WILLIAMS' NEGRO

FARM BOSS WILL

PLEAD NOT GUILTY

Mont. Advertiser
Clyde Manning, Negro Charged With Helping Dispose of Bodies in Williams' "Murder Farm"; Effort Will Be Made to Prove Negro Acted Under "Mortal Fear"

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Negro in "Murder Farm" Case Goes on Trial on Charge of Killing Lindsey Peterson.

POINTS ARE SCORED BY NEGRO'S COUNSEL

Scenes Are Far Different From Those in Williams Trial, Only a Few Spectators Being Present.

BY MARION KENDRICK.
Constitution's Staff Correspondent.
Covington, Ga., May 30.—(Spe-

cial.)—The case of Clyde Manning, charged with the murder of Lindsey Peterson, will rest with the jury early Tuesday afternoon, and he is expected to know his fate a few hours later.

All through Monday, his counsel fought hard for his freedom, scoring points over the prosecution in the admission of evidence which tended to show that the negro boss of the Jasper county "murder farm" aided in the killing of eleven black employees only because his life was threatened by the owner, John S. Williams.

Scenes Are Different.

Scenes in and about the little Covington courthouse were vastly different today from those of the sensational trial of the wealthy planter. Judge John B. Hutcheson presided and ex-Congressman William M. Howard, of Augusta, again was present to aid Solicitor-General A. M. Brand in the prosecution, while E. Marvin Underwood, prominent Atlanta attorney, represented the defense, having associated with him Judge A. D. Meadows, of Covington.

Instead of the courtroom being crowded to its capacity, and hundreds turned away, only a few spectators were present when both sides announced ready for trial. In the gallery, however, a mass of black faces peered over the railing, and the judge was frequently called upon to warn them to end minor disturbances. The negroes laughed at

The state rested here. At the request of the defense, the jury was sent from the room and Mr. Underwood registered a final objection to admission of evidence of murders other than those of Willie Preston and Lindsey Peterson on the ground that it was irrelevant. He declared that the murders had not been connected by the state, and denied that the admission of the evidence would show a scheme and motive of the crimes.

"Most Horrible Crimes."

"The killing of these negroes," said Mr. Howard, of the prosecution, "gives to legal history its most gruesome and horrible crimes. Yet they furnish a perfect example of the admissibility of independent crimes so connected as to show the motive of the defendant. The ruling on a similar question in the Frank case should apply in this. So long as one of these negroes lived, the defendant knew that testimony could be offered against him. This was the reason Manning acquiesced to taking part in the murders. It was the scheme and the motive of both Williams and the negro—the one a part of another."

Mr. Howard then went into a complete resume of the case, and the testimony of the various witnesses. Manning sat quietly by his counsel.

A. J. Wismer, federal department of justice agent, and a state witness, gave testimony for the defense rather than for the prosecution in declaring that Manning's confession had not "varied one bit since he first made it," and that he always stated that he killed the negroes on the plantation because Williams told him "it was his neck or theirs."

Defense Wins Point.

Sheriff B. L. Johnson, of Newton county, another state witness, also gave the same testimony on cross-examination. The defense won its contention that evidence tended to show that negroes on the Williams farm were afraid of the owner and

MANNING WILL GO ON TRIAL MONDAY

Attorney Will Ask Verdict of Not Guilty, On Ground He Was Coerced by Williams. 5/29/21
Constitution

Clyde Manning, negro boss on the John S. Williams "murder farm" in Jasper county, will face trial Monday morning on the charge of murder in connection with the killing of eleven blacks on and near the plantation.

Manning's confession to the effect that he and other negroes aided Williams in killing his employees resulted in the wealthy white planter being found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. He has declared that he aided in the murders because Williams threatened his life if he refused, and his attorney, E. Marvin Underwood, will ask a verdict of not guilty for the negro on this ground.

Clyde Freeman, another boss of the plantation, Claude and Emma Freeman, other employees, will testify in the case, and, it is understood, they will tell of Williams' alleged influence over Manning.

Solicitor-General A. M. Brand stated Saturday that the state would seek a verdict of guilty of murder against Manning and that he was ready for trial.

MANNING TO ENTER PLEA OF NOT GUILTY

Constitution
Negro Will Claim That He Was Forced to Kill

(From over)

would do anything rather than disobey a command.

On the other hand, the state won a strong point, when Judge Hutcheson ruled that evidence of murders other than those of Lindsey Peterson and Willie Preston, whose bodies were found in the Yellow river, should be admitted.

The deciding battle will come Tuesday morning, when Claude Freeman, another black boss on the farm, and Emma Freeman take the stand. Then Clyde Manning again will tell his gruesome story of the murder of blacks on the plantation. This time he will give more in detail the effect of Williams' alleged influence over him in compelling him to kill. The defense will rest here, and the rebuttal of the prosecution will be the most important phase of the state's case.

Solicitor Brand will speak first for the prosecution. He will be followed by Judge Meadows, for the defense. Mr. Underwood will speak next for the defense and Judge Howard will conclude for the state.

Afternoon Session.

When court convened after lunch, only a few white spectators were in the room, but the galleries again

Incomplete

at the conclusion the court overruled the defense's objection.

Clyde Freeman, the first witness of the defense, took the stand at 4:15 o'clock, testifying that all of the negroes had been whipped and mistreated frequently. He told of the murder of "Blackstrap" and "Iron Jaw," the latter having been shot by Leroy Williams, according to the testimony.

"How long have you worked on the Williams' farm, Clyde?" asked Mr. Underwood.

On Farm 13 Years.

"Thirteen years," was the reply. "Were you there when federal officers visited the place?"

"Yes, they talked to some of us." "Did Mr. Harvin Williams question you about what they asked you?"

"Yes, sir." "What did you tell him?"

"I told him I didn't tell them anything. I was afraid to tell him anything."

"What would you have done if Mr. Williams had told you to kill somebody?"

"I would'a tried," he replied. "I would'a been too scared, not to."

The state objected to this question and answer and was sustained.

On Huland's Farm.

During the cross examination of the witness, the state developed that Freeman lived on the Huland Williams farm, about five miles from the John Williams plantation, where Manning stayed.

Gus Chapman, a negro, who escaped from the "murder farm" after being caught in his first attempt, was the next witness called. After substantiating the testimony of Freeman, Mr. Underwood developed testimony from the witness that Williams had secured him from the Atlanta stockade on the payment of a five dollar fine, and that the negro had not received but ten, fifteen and twenty-five cents each week while on the plantation.

"After I escaped the first time, I was caught by Clyde Manning, Mr. Johnny and another negro," said

Chapman. "When they brought me back, Mr. Williams whipped me and started to kill me. He told me that if I ever ran away again he would kill me sure enough. I begged out this time. When they got me out of the stockade, they promised me forty dollars a month. I didn't get anything but ten, fifteen and twenty-five cents a week."

Tells of Killings.

No new evidence was brought out by the cross examination. Frank Dozier testified that he had escaped from the farm and told of the killing of negroes. His testimony corroborated that of other defense witnesses.

Following Dozier, Jim Strickland declared that he had been secured from the Macon stockade by Marvin Williams and had been mistreated until he escaped. He said that Manning and other negroes had participated in the whipping and killing of employees.

Solicitor Brand, on cross examination, developed testimony from the witness that Manning, so far as he knew, did not know of happenings on the Huland Williams plantation since he lived on the John Williams place.

The trial of Manning opened at nine o'clock in the morning when Manning was brought here under heavy guard from the Fulton tower. In the selection of a jury all persons related to John S. Williams were barred from service. The jury as empanelled was composed of F. L. Cason, J. O. Black, C. A. Clark, Henry C. Biggers, F. A. Briscoe, C. E. Bird, P. P. Austin, J. L. Milton, W. B. Hurst, Paul T. Dyer, O. Hardeman and A. P. Moseley.

Admits Manning's Part.

Mr. Underwood at the outset admitted Manning's part in the killings, making his defense the claim that Manning was compelled to assist Williams under threat of death.

Carl Wheeler was the first witness to be called. He testified to assisting in recovering the bodies of Lindsey Peterson and Willie Preston from the Yellow river. He told how the bodies were tied together with chains and how the bodies of rocks was fastened around their necks.

Testifying for the prosecution Sheriff B. L. Johnson also told of recovering the two bodies from the river, adding that Manning identified the bodies. Under cross-examination the sheriff said Manning told him he killed the hands at the command of Williams to save his own life.

Testimony on Record.

Manning's testimony in the trial of Williams was next placed on record.

Just before the close of the morning session Mr. Wismer, the department of justice agent, testified to investigations of peonage charges in connection with the Williams farm and repeated confessions which he said Manning made to him of his part in the crimes. He said most of the negroes whom he interviewed appeared to be afraid to talk. He asserted that they seemed to be in great fear of Williams and his sons.

Only Two Ballots/ Are Taken by Jury in Order to Reach Decision in the Negro's Case.

MANNING IS RETURNED TO PRISON IN ATLANTA

Negro Shows Great Relief When Jury Brings in the Recommendation for Mercy Late Tuesday.

Constitution 6/1/21

BY MARION KENDRICK,
Special Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., May 31.—(Special.) Clyde Manning, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Lindsey Peterson, one of the victims of the Jasper county "murder farm," late this afternoon appealed for a new trial, and Judge John B. Hutcheson set the hearing of the motion for July 30, in De-

After four hours of argument and delivery of the judge's charge, the case of the negro farm boss went to the jury at 4 o'clock this afternoon, and 40 minutes later a verdict of guilty with recommendation for mercy was returned. Only two ballots were taken by the jury in reaching its decision.

Manning Is Anxious.

The negro was smoking a cigar when the jury filed in the room. He threw it away immediately court was called to order, and looked expectantly at the men who had decided his fate. He propped his chin

on his hands, crouching forward in his chair.

"Have you gentlemen reached a verdict?" asked the court.

The foreman nodded affirmatively. "Receive the verdict, please, Mr. Solicitor."

Manning's head fell forward on his knees when the word "guilty" fell from the reader's lips, but when the recommendation for mercy followed he sat up, an expression of relief appearing on his face. "Stand up, Clyde," ordered Judge Hutcheson.

The negro arose, standing with one hand on the chair and the other nervously playing about his forehead.

"Clyde, the jury has found you guilty with a recommendation for mercy, and the sentence of the court is that you spend the rest of your life in the penitentiary. Have a seat."

Taken to Atlanta.

Manning resumed his seat, listening to the judge dismiss the jury and pass sentence on a white boy. A few hours later, he was carried to Atlanta and placed in the Fulton tower. There he will await the outcome of his motion.

Marvin Underwood, leading counsel for the defendant, filed the appeal a short time before the black was returned to Atlanta.

Judge James B. Park, of the Ocmulgee circuit, informed The Constitution over long distance telephone that he did not know whether Williams or Manning will be tried in Jasper county on other indictments for murder. He stated, however, that he had received Solicitor

Brand's offer to surrender the prisoners to him for trial under certain conditions, and that he had referred the matter to Solicitor Doyl Campbell.

"Soon as Solicitor Campbell decides to try either Manning or Williams and makes proper application to me, I will consider the matter and render a decision," he said.

Following the dramatic statement of Manning to the jury, during which he broke down and cried, the state offered no rebuttal, but closed its case.

Ex-Congressman William M. Howard spoke first for the prosecution. Judge Meadows followed for the defense. Then Mr. Underwood closed for the defendant, and Solicitor General Brand concluded for the state.

Fear Not Shown.

Mr. Howard declared that Manning walked about the farm in the capacity of a farm "boss," and that it was not shown conclusively by the defense that Manning was in fear of his own life.

"The defense has said that the state could not show a motive for Manning's crime, except fear, for his own skin," stated Mr. Howard.

"Manning's motive was identical with that of Williams, the owner of the place. Williams and Manning both had been practicing peonage, both feared federal investigation and they plotted and acted together to get rid of the human evidence before the federal authorities should take a hand in the case."

One Question.

"There will be one question for you to decide," Attorney Howard told the jury. "That is, was Manning legally responsible for these killings. The testimony of the Williams, which has been introduced, and Manning's own testimony here, leave no doubt that he killed the men."

"You must distinguish between moral responsibility and legal responsibility. If a drunken man kills another he is not morally responsible, but he is certainly legally responsible."

"The law says a man is coerced when, through fear, the will of another is forced upon him. That will be your question."

Afternoon Session.

When the afternoon session was convened, Judge Meadows opened argument for the defense. He complimented Mr. Howard on his fair presentation of the state's case, but declared that the prosecution's own witnesses had given better evidence for the defense.

"Is there any evidence in this case to show that Manning committed these crimes on his own free will and volition?" he asked. "The state has failed to make out its case. It may maintain that the defendant should have escaped, but I tell you that fourteen years on the plantation under Williams' influence were enough to keep him there. He acted under threats and menaces of Williams and cannot be held responsible for the murders."

"I ask of you, and I believe that when you go to your room you will not let the fact that the defendant is a black man influence you in making your verdict."

Underwood Speaks.

Mr. Underwood followed Judge Meadows, and in citing opinions, declared that the state had failed

to show malice on the part of the defendant in killing the negroes. The defense, he said, had admitted all the physical facts of the case in Manning's statement. This story of the defendant was declared to be remarkable and could not have been told without variance so many times unless it was true. In a fervent manner he recited the whipping and killing of negroes on the "murder farms."

"Was there a fear of Williams on the farm sufficient to cause the negroes to do anything he ordered; even to the killing of human beings?" he cried. "The best evidence of this is the actual killings. In every instance it has been shown that Williams' orders were obeyed. Evidence submitted by the state has proved this."

Use of Bloodhounds.

In reply to the state's contention that the defendant should have escaped, Mr. Underwood gave a graphic account of the use of bloodhounds in chasing escaped blacks. He spoke of guards who often shot at the employees, the unsuccessful attempts of several of the negroes to leave and their punishment. He also told of the influence of Williams over the defendant during his fourteen years of residence on the plantation.

"The has advanced, as its weak motive, that Manning was afraid of federal authorities. I don't believe that they will insist on this. In Manning's statement in the previous trial, which the state has introduced, it was no secret that the officers knew they could get him only for doing something someone had compelled him to do. What motive did Manning have to carry out such a scheme? How could a negro plan such a series of crimes?"

Tool of Williams.

"He was only a tool in the hand of a greater, driving force, and under the law is not guilty of murder."

In concluding his argument, Mr. Underwood made a powerful plea for upholding and enforcing the law in Georgia, declaring that when both officials and citizens became lax in this respect, the state will be bordering on anarchy. He asked for a verdict of acquittal, but stated that if the jury was not convinced of the negro's innocence, to remember that the most it could do would be to class him as a partner in the crimes and punish him no more than the white man.

Brand Concludes.

Solicitor Brand, in concluding for the state, stated that Manning had been reared under the influence of Williams and the result was a "mean nigger," who took especial delight in gaining the favor of his "boss" by carrying out his orders.

"Williams was a king. A monarch of all whom he surveyed, and his sons were worshippers at his throne," he declared. "Clyde needed no threats to make him do anything. There was no fear of losing his life. He committed the crimes to please his boss, and he is just as guilty as Mr. Williams and should be meted the same punishment."

"After drowning the three negroes in Newton county, why didn't he escape? He made no effort, he tells you, because bloodhounds were on the place and Mr. Williams called him at all times of night. But I tell you that if this negro had gotten a half-mile ahead of the hounds no race horse in Georgia could have caught him. Did he want to escape? No. He wanted to stay and bask in the kindly crimes of his master. There has been no evidence of real danger to Clyde introduced in this case."

Manning's Confession.

The solicitor declared that Manning's confession had made it possible for the state to discover all the crimes.

"He's made a clean breast of everything. He has told the truth and should be commended. But this does not mean that he should escape punishment for his crimes, and to you hold the scales of justice, I leave the fate of this negro in your hands."

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

MANNING TO FACE JURY IN NEWTON EARLY NEXT MONTH

Announcement of Solicitor Clears Uncertainty Regarding Confessed "Murder Farm" Slayer.

TO OPPOSE WILLIAMS' MOVE FOR NEW TRIAL

Jasper Grand Jury Hears Many Testify in Probe of Hamilton Lynching and Other Killings.

Monticello, Ga., April 12/21 (Special).—Clyde Manning, negro, "boss" of John S. Williams' "murder farm," will go on trial for his life in Covington early in May.

With the Jasper county grand jury recessing here late this afternoon to continue its investigation of the Eugene Hamilton lynching and other killings on Wednesday, this announcement of Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, of the Stone Mountain circuit, added considerable interest to the general situation.

Despite the fact that the solicitor of the Newton county superior court has frequently stated that he would try the negro, whose confession involved John S. Williams in the "murder farm" atrocities, reports have been current both here and in Covington that the slayer would not face a jury until the latter part of this year or that his case would be not prossecd.

Public opinion concerning the trial of the negro has been divided in Newton county, but in Jasper practically every one takes the position that, since Williams has been sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Lindsey Peterson, one of the eleven black employees whom he is accused of murdering, Manning should also be given the same sentence after an early trial, if he is found guilty.

been given excellent co-operation in his present investigation, uncertainty as to the negro's trial has served as an obstacle. The effect of Solicitor Brand's announcement is, therefore, readily understood to be important.

"In answering the attacks of the defense at the trial of Williams last week, I told the jury that Manning would be tried as soon as Judge John B. Hutcheson could fix a date," said Solicitor Brand over long distance phone. "It seems, however, that there is still an impression that the negro slayer will not be tried, or that his trial will be postponed until the latter part of this year.

Duty to Prosecute.

"I wish to make this correction: Manning will be placed on trial at an early date, and my present intentions are to have this hearing early in May," he continued. "As an official of the state, it is my duty to prosecute the negro. When we get through with him, then Jasper county is welcome to try him under the indictments returned yesterday by its grand jury.

"Regarding the Williams motion for a new trial, I will, of course, oppose the move. Newton county has an indictment against him for the murder of Willie Preston, but I have not yet decided when he will be tried. I will probably await the action of Judge Hutcheson on the motion before making any decision. The same holds true in Williams' case as in Manning's—when we get through with him, Jasper county will be free to place him on trial."

Probe Several Killings.

The grand jury here now has the killing of several negroes in Jasper under investigation. Throughout the day witnesses were examined and others have been summoned to appear Wednesday. It is not known whether any decision has been reached on the indictments, but it is the general opinion that the body is awaiting examination of all witnesses in the Hamilton lynching and other killings before taking any action.

"In addition to the cases the grand jury has been investigating, the mysterious death of Matt Leverett, a negro woman, last Thanksgiving was taken up today," stated Solicitor Campbell. "All that I can say for publication at present is that the woman was found dead in her house and the case has proved a puzzle to local officials. There are also other cases to be considered, and the jury is determined to remain in session until the last is completed.

"In the case where four white men approached a negro's house to inquire of the whereabouts of one of his relatives and a shooting scrape followed in which a black was killed, we expect to be ready to announce indictments tomorrow evening. A large number of witnesses will appear before the body Wednesday and sensational developments may result from the day's investigation," he continued.

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

Pleased With Co-operation.

"I am well pleased with the co-operation I am receiving in this investigation and I am sure the actions of the grand jury during the last two days reflects the sentiment of a majority of our people," the solicitor said. "Nothing has been heard of the Williams boys, but with the reward of \$500 each, which Governor Dorsey offered this afternoon and the search of officials I think we will soon apprehend them."

Twelve indictments against Williams, his three sons and Manning were returned by the grand jury Monday. Solicitor Campbell stated that he will move to place the boys on trial as soon as they have been captured. Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for Williams, stated Tuesday night that he would not withdraw his motion for a new trial.

Southern District Authorities in Position to Return Stronger Indictments, It Is Declared.

18 DEATHS NOW LAID TO WILLIAMS FAMILY

Federal Agents Are Conducting Searching Probe and Have Uncovered Sensational Evidence.

With evidence in the possession of government officials to the effect that eighteen negroes were slain on the John S. Williams "murder farm" and that indications pointed to a death toll of more than twenty, it was authoritatively learned Thursday night that the scope of investigations into peonage conditions in Jasper and several other Georgia counties will be considerably widened by the early entrance of southern district federal court officials.

Owing to the fact that Jasper county is in the jurisdiction of the southern district federal court, its grand jury is in a position to return stronger indictments against the elder Williams and his three sons, Marvin, Huland and LeRoy, according to Hooper Alexander, district attorney of the northern district. The federal grand jury of this district can return indictments against Jasper county violators only for coming to Atlanta and taking negroes back to the farm to be held in peonage.

Evidence Goes to Bennett.

In the southern district, however, the grand jury can return indictments both for holding in peonage and for kidnaping into slavery. It is possible, therefore, stated Mr.

Alexander, that all evidence in the possession of the Atlanta bureau of the department of justice will be given to District Attorney John W. Bennett and indictments sought in the southern court at its next session on May 2.

"Our grand jury will take up the cases of peonage and the Williams boys again on April 25," stated Mr. Alexander, "but I am in favor of transferring all of the charges to the southern district of Georgia because Jasper county is without our jurisdiction and much stronger cases could be developed by Mr. Bennett.

"Should it be decided to submit all our evidence to the other district, it will mean that our court will drop the charges, but the bureau of investigation of the department of justice will continue its work. It would be our policy to co-operate to the fullest extent with the southern district court officials. It would not be necessary for us to press our charges in the northern court," he concluded.

Duty of Officials.

Since Jasper county is within the jurisdiction of the southern district it is the duty of its officials to take up the investigation, it was pointed out. The northern district officials would not push their charges here, owing to the fact Williams and his sons in addition to receiving negroes from the Atlanta stockade also secured them from Macon, so this charge could be included with that of the actual holding in peonage.

Now that Williams has been sentenced to life imprisonment for the drowning of Lindsey Peterson in the Yellow river, and indictments charging murder returned against him and his three sons in Jasper county, Vincent Hughes stated Thursday night that his agents are daily securing sensational evidence from blacks who have heretofore been silent.

Government officials have no authority to make arrests or take any action in the murder cases, he stated, but all of this evidence is being kept to be transferred to state officials. If the Williams boys are apprehended, they will be placed on trial immediately in Jasper, according to the present plans of Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell. This evidence will be given to Governor Hugh M. Dorsey to be transferred to the solicitor.

Will Confer With Governor.

"As soon as Governor Dorsey returns to Atlanta I will hold a conference with him," said Mr. Hughes, "and report the progress we have made. So far we have received no request from the state to aid in the search for the three missing Williams boys. We will, of course, be glad to co-operate with the state officials in the future just as in the past. Evidence in our possession shows that eighteen negroes have been killed on the Williams farm since 1910. It is impossible to say what the toll will be when our investigation is completed.

District Attorney Bennett stated over long distance telephone to The Constitution that he knew federal agents were investigating peonage

conditions in Jasper county, and as soon as he received an official report, he would make arrangements to have the cases completed to submit to his grand jury.

The murder of Aleck Dyer, Nick and Mamie Walker, all negroes, of the Williams farm in 1910 and 1911 was reported to officials Thursday afternoon by witnesses who told graphic stories of the crimes.

"Dyer was killed because he ran away twice," one of the witnesses stated. "It was said, though, that Nick and his wife were knocked off because they were too old to do any more work."

Story Told by Negro.

Another negro told the following story:

"I lived on Mr. Johnny's place a long time and I was there as far back as 1910. Mr. Johnny got me in Macon one of the stockade, where they had me for pulling a little pistol deal. I tried mighty hard to get away several times, but there was very little chance, because they kept us under guard in a little house every night.

"In the day, they put balls and chains on our legs before we went to the fields to work. Mr. Huland and his brothers was boys in knee pants then, but they would ride over the farm and crack niggers over the backs with big whips if they caught any of 'em stopping to rest a minute.

"Mr. Johnny never did pay us off, and we was all too scared of him to ask for money. Once he gave me a dollar, but that's all the money I ever got. I worked for him in all about six years. Yes, sir, he always gave me plenty to eat and kept us in clothes."

He declared Williams kept his farm hands in an state of terror at all times and that they obeyed him without question.

"If Mr. Johnny had told me to kill a nigger, I certainly would have done it—I'd have known better not to do it," he declared with emphasis.

Federal Peonage Probe.

Macon, Ga., April 14/21 (Special).—Peonage cases which special agents of the department of justice have been investigating in Jasper and Dooly counties for the past several months, will be taken up by the United States grand jury when it convenes here the first week in May.

J. H. Block and G. W. Brown, special agents, today spent several hours in conference with Assistant United States District Attorney Clem Powers, with whom they discussed peonage conditions in Dooly county. The agents have just returned from that county, where they carried on a thorough investigation. They refused to make public what they had found, stating they will make their report in writing to the district attorney's office.

Mr. Powers also refused to discuss the Dooly county situation, but from other sources it is reported the agents found conditions to be rather bad in that county. That some surprises will be sprung when the grand jury meets is predicted by officials.

To Probe Williams Cases.

John W. Bennett, United States district attorney, announced that the Jasper county peonage cases would come before the grand jury here. Jasper county being in the jurisdiction of the southern district of Georgia. The Williams farm cases will be first presented to the grand jury, and indictments will be asked.

That investigations are now in progress in a number of Georgia counties where peonage is alleged to exist was disclosed today by Mr. Bennett, but he refused to discuss the matter or say what counties were involved.

From Jasper county today com

have found new evidence in connection with peonage charges. It is alleged that as far back as 1919 John S. Williams took negroes from the Bibb county chain gang and forced them to work without pay. The agents are said to have uncovered evidence to the effect that many of these prisoners were taken from the Macon jail with handcuffs on their wrists to prevent them from escaping while en route to the plantation.

3 WILLIAMS BOYS STILL ELUDE LAW

Hiding Place Still Unknown to Jasper County Officers—Father Not to Give Up Fight. 4/17/21
Constitution

The hiding place of the three sons of John S. Williams, owner of the Jasper county "murder farm" and convicted slayer of one of his negroes, was still shrouded in mystery Saturday night. Reports that the three boys, who are under indictments for murder, are in concealment in Jasper county were ridiculed by Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell, of Monticello, while department of justice agents refused to comment on the report.

"The liberal rewards offered for the Williams boys would have brought about their arrest before now, if they were in Jasper county," said Mr. Campbell. "The people here all know them, and feeling is high against them. Personally, I think they are not within a thousand miles of here, and I think they are gone entirely. I doubt very seriously if they will be arrested."

While the search for his sons continues, the elder Williams and his attorney, Greene F. Johnson, are making plans to push a plea for a retrial, which will come before Judge John B. Hutcheson in Decatur on April 30. Williams is under life sentence after his conviction in Covington of the murder of one of the negroes on his farm, and is under numerous indictments charging other murders. He is in Fulton Tower.

Just Started to Fight.

"We have only begun to fight," said Mr. Johnson. "We have no intention of allowing the court's sentence and the jury's verdict to go uncontested, and are not considering allowing Williams to start serving his life sentence."

Mr. Johnson said that, so far as he knew, the three sons of the convicted planter, who are under indictment for murder, have left the state. He denied knowing where they are.

Judge J. B. Park is considering a change of venue from Jasper to some other county for the trial of the three Williams boys, if they are arrested. Solicitor-General Campbell said he had no information on the point, and that sentiment regarding a change of venue was divided in Jasper county.

The startling disclosures in the Williams trial and conviction have stimulated interest in peonage cases in Georgia, and the department of

justice in Atlanta is called on to investigate four or five new complaints of peonage every day, according to Vincent Hughes, head of the department of justice office in the federal building. Practically the entire time of all the operatives is now devoted to work of this kind, he said.

"Some reports come from responsible white people," he said, "others come from negroes and associations of various kinds. Every complaint requires several days of investigation, and the ten men at work from this office are giving all their time to running down the reports."

To Push Peonage Charge.

"Indictments on peonage charge, or on charges of conspiring to violate the peonage law, will be sought against Williams and his three sons, at the next federal grand jury session on May 4 in Macon. We will also seek indictments against a number of others at that time, evidence for which is now being prepared."

"The state authorities will have the first chance to prosecute Williams and his three sons, but if any of them come clear of the state charges, we will bring them to trial for peonage."

He denied reports that the department of justice was negotiating with the three Williams boys for their surrender, and said that efforts to arrest them were still being pushed.

"The department of justice agents have no authority to make a trade of any kind with the Williams boys or any one else under investigation or indictment, particularly under indictment by a state court," he asserted.

No promise of immunity from prosecution in the United States courts has been given to any one connected with the Williams peonage case, none is under consideration, nor will any such promise be made from representatives of his office at any time."

The peonage investigations being made by the department of justice are said, center in several places in Georgia, especially in Jasper, Pike and Oglethorpe counties. They have already resulted in unexpectedly serious developments in several instances, he intimated, which the department is not yet ready to announce.

The wide publicity given to peonage cases by the Williams trial has brought complaints of peonage to the Atlanta office of the department of justice from Alabama, Mississippi and North Carolina. Mr. Hughes said. Most of the complaints, when investigated, are found to be unsupported by evidence, but in some instances cases will be made, he said.

NEGROES CHARGE CRUEL TREATMENT ON "MURDER FARM"

Federal officials Friday afternoon heard once again gruesome stories of murders and cruel treatment of negroes on the John S. Williams farm in Jasper county, when two blacks were brought to headquarters in the postoffice building, where they corroborated the testimony of other former employees of the "murder farm."

Although a mass of evidence has been assembled by the bureau of investigation of the department of justice, the agents are continuing their probe, which is resulting in new developments every day.

This evidence will be presented to the federal grand jury when it convenes here Monday. Efforts are being made to indict Williams and his three sons, Marvin, Huland and LeRoy, on peonage charges.

Other cases against farmers of Pike and Jasper county will be presented the grand jury when it convenes, it was announced Friday

COMMITTEE ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS ON PEONAGE.

Dallas Express 4/23/21
Offered Services to Governor Dorsey to Aid in Securing Conviction of Those Responsible For Jasper County Conditions.

(By A. N. P.)

Atlanta, Ga., April 21.—Resolutions strongly condemning the "murder farm" horror which led recently to the discovery of eleven bodies of Negroes in Jasper and Newton counties, and appealing to the people of Georgia to cry out against such a condition of affairs have been adopted by the Atlanta committee on church co-operation.

The committee offered its services to Governor Dorsey and other law enforcement officials in aiding to secure convictions against those responsible for the crime. The resolution follows:

"Whereas, in Georgia men have tortured Negroes, as men, worthy of the name, would not torture a beast, and have murdered Negroes, and have received no punishment for their crimes,

"Whereas, the conditions which justify call for the condemnation of God and man upon our beloved state, have culminated in the cold blooded murder of eleven or more men upon one plantation in Jasper and Newton counties.

"Be it resolved, that followers of Jesus Christ and as citizens of Georgia.

"First. We condemn with horror the atrocities committed in Jasper and Newton counties.

"Second. We urge the people of Georgia of every creed to cry out against the conditions which have produced this horror and beg them to unite in putting an end to these conditions by demanding that the virtual sale of men, convicted of crime, to pay fines, and the use of fines in payment of the fees of public officials be stopped, and that all laws be impartially enforced, and by condemning any laxity in the enforcement of law by any public official.

"Third. We commend those citizens of Jasper county who have urged the speedy enforcement of law, and the public officials in the counties named for their co-operation, and Governor Hugh M. Dorsey for moving so vigorously and promptly to bring to punishment the perpetrators of this last crime against Negroes in Georgia.

"Fourth. We offer our services to Governor Dorsey and the officials in charge of the enforcement of law to aid in any and every way possible in securing the detection and conviction of those guilty of this crime against God and men.

"John J. Eagan, M. M. Davis, Floyd Field, M. L. Thrower, C. B. Wilmer, Marvin Underwood, Richard Orme Flinn, Will W. Alexander, M. Ashby Jones, F. E. Rogers, James Morton,

Charles O. Jones, Philip M. Colbert, Clarence A. Titus, H. F. Kirkpatrick, Philip Weltner, B. R. Lacy, Jr., John A. Manget, H. A. Porter, Plato Durham, Marion Jackson, Charles W. Daniel, Committee on Church Co-operation."

NEGRO ARRESTED BY JASPER PARTY

Constitution 4/26/21
Four Jasper county men, claiming to hold a warrant against Tom S. Walker, of 152 Randolph street, a negro who is said to have fled from Jasper county two months ago on account of the racial conditions there, arrested the negro with the aid of a city policeman Monday night, and stated they intended to return with him to Jasper county at once. Sheriff W. E. Persons, of Jasper county, informed The Constitution by long distance telephone on Monday night that he knew of no warrant being issued in Monticello for Walker's arrest.

The Atlanta police were searching for the party of four white men on Monday night. It was not learned whether they had left for Jasper county with the negro, or whether they were still in this city.

Woman Informs Police.

Lena Walker, wife of the negro arrested, was taken to the police station by several white people and identified two of the four Jasper county men. One, she said, was John Smith, on whose plantation she and her husband had worked for two months without pay, and the other was Oscar Thomas, owner of a neighboring plantation. Both farmers, she said, live near the "murder farm" of John S. Williams, convicted slayer of one of his negroes.

She said she and her husband had fled together to Atlanta to escape from the racial conditions in Jasper county.

Walker is supposed to have been arrested on a warrant charging him with kidnaping Zellie Head, another negro employed on the Smith farm. Lena Walker said her husband had not kidnaped the man, and that Head had come to Atlanta of his own accord, leaving the Smith plantation at about the same time as she and her husband had left.

A young white man, dressed in the uniform of any army sergeant, called at police headquarters Monday afternoon, and asked for call officer to accompany him, as he held a warrant for a man's arrest. No call officers were in at the time and he went away.

Lena Walker said she met Smith and three others, two of whom wore soldier uniforms, at Highland avenue and Randolph street about o'clock Monday night and Smith talked to her. She recognized another as Thomas. Smith accompanied her to her home, and she called on her husband, Tom. The other three white men and a policeman came up, and the officer arrested the negro and turned him over to the Jasper county men, who went away with him.

Officers' Name Withheld.

The officer, whose name was withheld by Chief Jett until a report on his action could be made to Chief Beavers, said he saw a warrant, added that Thomas claimed to be a bailiff of Jasper county. He did not know that he was making a mistake in turning the negro over to the men, he claimed and did not know that he should have booked the

prisoner at the police station before surrendering him to the Jasper county men.

Lena Walker said she and her husband had worked for Smith for about four years, and that three years ago Smith had shot and wounded her husband with a pistol, during an altercation. About a year ago, she and her husband decided to work for Smith on a crop basis, and they raised nine bales of cotton, from which they received absolutely nothing, she asserted. At the first of this year, she said, they decided to return to a salary basis, and made such an arrangement with Smith, but that he had paid them nothing.

She conferred with Attorney Roy S. Brennan at the police station Monday night. Attorney Brennan has had several peonage cases recently especially before the federal court

OFFICER HAD WARRANT FOR NEGRO'S ARREST

Constitution 4/27
The supposed kidnaping of Tom

Walker, a negro, by four Jasper county men on Monday night, which department of justice agents were investigating on suspicion of peonage turned out to be a regular and legal proceeding, according to Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell, of Jasper county. He informed The Constitution by long distance telephone Tuesday night that Walker was arraigned and released on Tuesday morning.

When the negro was arrested by an Atlanta policeman Monday night and turned over to the four Jasper county men, Sheriff Persons, of Jasper county, said no warrant had been issued for the arrest of Walker so far as he knew.

Mr. Campbell stated on Tuesday that a warrant had been issued, and that everything in Jasper county had been done in an orderly way. The prisoner was delivered to the four Jasper county men by the Atlanta policemen without being booked at the police station, and the department of justice started an investigation Tuesday, believing the case looked like one of peonage.

The warrant for Walker's arrest, said Mr. Campbell, was sworn out by a negro, and charged Walker with kidnaping Zellie Head, another negro. When Walker was arraigned for commitment hearing Tuesday, the sheriff failed to establish a case and Walker was released.

It Happened in Georgia

In a farmer's conviction for murder one of the most shocking stories in American history has been unfolded in Jasper county, Georgia, within fifty miles of the progressive industrial and commercial city of Atlanta. The Federal authorities had suspected that peonage was practiced on his plantation—that form of compulsory labor to discharge debts loosely called slavery but more properly called serfdom. An investigation was started and then, to defeat it, death broke loose on the farm. Six negroes, according to a negro agent in the proprietor's employ, were roped to rocks and flung in the river. Five were killed and buried on land.

No grimmer testimony was ever given than that of this negro State's witness. One farm hand, "Big John," was induced to dig his own grave, under pretext of digging a well. When the excavation was shoulder-deep, another negro struck him on the head; he fell in his tracks and the earth was shoveled over him. With ax or gun other farm hands were done away with. In a sentence almost Shakspearean in its raw idiomatic power, the fate of the drowned negroes is sketched: "They was stubborn and a-begging, and me and Charley rolled 'em over the banisters of the bridge." The jury believed the witness and that he acted under orders.

Thus pride of race, in its degenerate form of contempt for a black skin and denial of elementary human rights, runs a course of madness and receives at the law's hands the only judgment which any civilized community could render and remain such. This assurance to the negro comes, it is worth noting, at the hands of a jury of Southern white men.

CLEVELAND O NEWS
APRIL 12, 1921

THE GEORGIA WAY.

GEORGIA justice knew it was performing under critical scrutiny when it took up the "murder farm" case. It knew the whole country would watch its handling of one of the most brutal crimes ever discovered in Georgia or any other state. It knew the result would be regarded as a fair test of Georgia's ability to cause justice to be done when the accused was a white man and his victim and accusers were negroes.

John S. Williams, owner of the death plantation and exploiter of prison labor, was accused of having murdered or caused to be murdered twelve or fourteen colored laborers, obtained from prisons or jails and worked on his land under conditions approaching or constituting peonage or slavery. The testimony was convincing and fully borne out by material evidence, such as the finding of eleven bodies on or near the premises. The wholesale murdering had plainly been carried on with a savagery almost beyond belief—scarcely explicable except on the theory that the murderer greatly feared federal prosecution for peonage, but did not fear Georgia justice if the charge was to be the murder of negroes.

Williams was brought to trial before a state court at Covington, Ga. He was tried for only one murder out of the dozen. The prosecution presented the confession of the coerced colored accomplice, who had revealed how victims of the death farm had been forced to dig their own graves and then had been shot or beaten to death, or how they had been chained together in pairs, weighted with stones and thrown into rivers. The only witness for the defense was Williams, who entered a general denial. His testimony was not given under oath—a Georgia arrangement precluding cross-examination.

The jury considered the case for nine hours and remained out all night. Finally it returned a verdict of guilty of murder, accompanied by a recommendation of mercy! The hanging prescribed by Georgia statutes for first-degree murderers being thus frustrated, Williams was sentenced to imprisonment for life. His lawyers have moved for a new trial. Decision on that is to be given April 30. Meantime Williams is in jail at Atlanta. He "appeared to take his conviction calmly." He "expressed confidence that he finally would be cleared of the murder charge."

Georgia justice acquitted itself well enough in one respect—

the murderer was tried and convicted within two or three weeks of the discovery of the crimes. As for the rest, Ohioans are hardly in a position to scoff. Ohio justice seldom or never equals the promptness shown in this case, but often duplicates the suicidal folly of showing mercy to brutal beasts who showed their victims

COLUMBUS O JOURNAL

APRIL 14, 1921

Peonage and Murder in Georgia.

Officials of the state of Georgia owe it to themselves, their state and the nation to spare no effort until the state has wiped out every form of peonage from the plantations. The story of peonage and murder, told by Clyde Manning, an illiterate negro of Jasper County, a few weeks ago, would have been disbelieved by many had it not been proven true in every one of its amazing details by the discovery of the bodies of the victims and the conviction of John S. Williams, the white planter, charged with the crime.

Georgia has some bad laws. It is not in furtherance of justice or good government that a planter may hire from the jails and workhouses prisoners to be kept under guard and worked on his plantation. The law is bad, the results are worse. It means oppression, injustice, and now it has meant murder. The man who would hire human beings and force them to labor for him for almost nothing has the wrong line of thought. He would be tempted to hold them far beyond their sentence and continue to wring profit from human torture and enforced labor. Having gone that far, it is not impossible he might consider disposing of them rather than face the charge in court.

That law makes possible a condition of slavery and Georgia will not stand acquitted until all such unfair and outrageous laws have been repealed. Had that law not existed Williams could not have filled his plantation with workhouse prisoners. Not having the prisoners, he would have been without the opportunity for the outrageous crime of peonage, there would have been lacking any condition that would have put murder of the eleven victims into his heart. Williams is in prison, eleven men are dead, but the law-makers who framed and passed that law must carry part of the blame for the blot that has come to the state. The courts have moved quickly to do their part. It is now the duty of the legislature to repeal the law and remove the opportunity for other murder.

Southern Race Savagery Punishing Itself

THE heartlessness of the peonage conditions in the south speaks for itself. The revelations in the trial of John S. Williams, the Georgia farmer indicted for the murder of 11 Negroes whom he had taken out of jail by virtue of paying their fines and whom he is accused of having either drowned or buried alive in order to prevent their being witnesses against him in the peonage investigation, form a blacker page in our national history than anything that could truthfully be written of "darkest Africa."

How much of this astounding savagery is constantly going on not only in Georgia but in the southern states in general can only be guessed at. All that is known is that it is so prevalent as to be driving the colored people of the south to northern states literally in droves.

What the lazy whites of the south will do when they have by this process so depleted their labor supply that they can no longer maintain their industries is an enigma. They can, of course, depend to a certain extent on children; their mills even now are full of them. But a way has been found of using federal legislative power to deprive them of this resource, and it is clear that the enlightened public sentiment which has been developed in the rest of the country on this subject will eventually force the southern whites to go to work themselves or hopelessly lag behind in the race for that wealth and material prosperity which they so frankly covet.

If considerations of ordinary humanity do not move them to take their new slave-owners in hand and curb their barbarity, perhaps they will be driven to it by a realization that they are killing the goose which laid the golden egg, in the sense that most of their Negro labor will soon have fled north of the Mason and Dixon line.

PITTSBURG PA. DISPATCH

MARCH 29, 1921

Slavery in Spite of Law

There is a circumstantial force about the gruesome details of the discoveries on and in the vicinity of the peonage plantation in Georgia which cannot be waved aside by offhand denials of the farm owner or his intimation that the word of a Negro plantation hand should not be weighed against the denials of a respected white man. It is unfortunate for the prominent white man in this instance and probably fortunate for this Negro plantation worker, that the earlier statements have been verified by later investigation. In the old days of chattel slavery the slave owner did not kill his workers, because that would have been destroying his own property. In the days of modern industrial peonage, which is a form of slavery far more profitable than chattel slavery ever was, the dissatisfied plantation worker may be simply killed to silence protests.

The improbability that this prominent and respectable white owner of a great plantation should order the violent deaths of several of his peons to prevent them from giving facts to the county prosecutor, is balanced by the equal improbability that the Negro informer could have carried out the program he describes without the knowledge of the master. Inquiry into the statements made by the Negro who executed the death order to silence complaints that would bring this peon plantation into the clutches of the law, has verified the main facts. But the brutality of the exposure is only secondary to the fact that slavery was not abolished in the South by the Lincoln proclamation and constitutional amendments. Other fields of peonage amounting to slavery have been located and still others remain to be brought into the light.

PITTSBURG PA PRESS

APRIL 8, 1921

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

Wm. W. W. W.
Out of Jasper County, Georgia, come disclosures regarding peonage conditions in that state that ought to shock the nation.

Following information which had been laid before the Department of Justice at Washington, agents of the Department began to make investigations in certain counties in Georgia. These agents had questioned Negroes on and about the plantation of John Williams, a white Georgia planter. Williams, who had been guilty of the practice of peonage in its most brutal forms, in order to head off the investigation, killed and caused to be killed a dozen, and perhaps more, of his Negro employees. Some of them had their brains battered out with an axe; others were weighted down with chains and stones and thrown alive into the river near the plantation. Two of them were compelled to dig their own graves.

Williams and Manning, the colored man who declared that Williams compelled him to commit eight of these murders, have been indicted and are in jail. The Department of Justice is on the case and it appears that Governor Dorsey of Georgia will take some steps on behalf of the state.

In all the history of peonage this is the most flagrant and savage the details are more horrible than anything that was disclosed in the atrocities in the Belgian Congo. Anybody who has out been thinking of Georgia and the South as civilized sections of the country needs only to read what is coming out of Jasper County to be undeceived.

But these are conditions which are not confined to Jasper County, Ga., alone. They apply to the entire region in the Mississippi Delta and, in fact, to all that part of the South where cotton is raised. This condition of peonage is perhaps the greatest curse and handicap upon the Negro in the South. As Walter F. White said in a statement given to the New York "World":

"As an isolated case, the Jasper County murder of at least eleven Negroes, because they threatened to reveal peonage conditions there, is not as important as the fact that it is indicative of a widespread and closely organized system in the South. Horrible as the facts are, they can be duplicated in every Southern state. The Mississippi Delta region, embracing the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, western Tennessee and eastern Texas, is built on this system of debt-slavery."

Thousands upon thousands of Negroes in the agricultural sec-

tions of the South have for years been constantly cheated and robbed of their earnings and chained to the soil by this system of debt-slavery. The majority of the Negroes in the agricultural regions of the South cannot better their conditions until peonage in any and every form is absolutely abolished.

Peonage slavery is more heartless than chattel slavery. This man, Williams, for example, never would have killed eleven slaves whose bodies belonged to him. They would have been considered too valuable.

At the time of this writing the Jasper County affair has assumed an added but well recognized phase. The morning papers report the fact that in response to tales that were spread of a big Negro uprising hundreds of heavily armed white men poured into the county from the surrounding districts. They came in for the purpose of putting down the "uprising." As it was, there were not enough colored people anywhere in sight to give the slightest color to the rumors that had been sent out.

Here we have the same sort of thing that happened in the Arkansas cases, only in that instance the ruse succeeded. In Arkansas the colored farmers decided to hire a lawyer and sue their landlords for a conspiracy to massacre.

If there had been gathered together any number of Negroes at one place in the vicinity when these armed white men came into Jasper County, they would have suffered a like fate to that of the Negroes in Phillips County, Arkansas, in 1919.

We deplore what has taken place in Jasper County, Ga., but these terrible disclosures should arouse the country and bring about an investigation that will end peonage the colored men who died or John Williams' plantation will not have died in vain.

Wilmington M. V. Hapgood
4/2/21.

The Georgia bluebeard with a penchant for murdering colored men, has made a stiff record. He deserved first a fair trial and conviction, and then the penalty that attaches to the crime of murder in Georgia.

groups of human beings of any race or color. Even the best of men are incapable of exercising that sort of power justly. Sooner or later the despot goes a little mad.

Whips and guns and chains were used to keep slave labor in an obedient mood on at least one Georgia plantation. But whips and guns are hardly less cruel than the bitter necessity which drives extremely young children into southern cotton mills. Quick death by a rifle bullet is a little more merciful than the death from weariness, hunger and overwork that comes to many women and children in states where they have to toil long hours without the benefit of protective laws.

Every law in a country like this implies that every man, woman and child has a full right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As civilized governments adjust themselves to new conditions they try with all the means in their power to see to it that no accident of circumstance and no complication arising from new and unfamiliar conditions of economic and social development may directly or indirectly defeat these fundamental human aspirations.

PITTSBURGH DISPATCH

APRIL 3, 1921

Peonage Stands Proved

The exposure of peonage conditions in the cotton belt of the South has gone far beyond the point of whether Williams, the plantation owner, and his foreman are guilty of the murder of 11 laborers. Shocking as that feature is, the more important point is that the peonage system admittedly exists and is generally known to the public in that section. This is worse since it is that "local feeling," which as made virtual

slavery possible and profitable, and murder an incident. Punishment of the plantation owner and his foreman is secondary to the breaking up of peonage and the establishment of law, a condition that may not be easy notwithstanding the interference of the Federal authorities. The conflict between the officials of Jasper County and those of the State administration is an illustration of how far public opinion may reach in defense of illegal conditions and in obstructing the law's operation.

So critical was the situation growing out of the hostility of the county authorities to State investigation of the Williams case that Governor Dorsey was compelled to order out a company of soldiers to protect the investigators. Apparently the same popular forces that have been arrayed against each other on the lynching problem find themselves opposed in the peonage case. A small but active, fearless and growing element has been making a stand against lynching and it is this group that now seems to be supporting Governor Dorsey in his determination to stamp out peonage in Georgia. Punishment for the crime is due, but more important is the destruction of the peonage system.

THE SLAVER'S INSTINCT

PHILADELPHIA EVE LEDGER

APRIL 8, 1921

It is More Than a Scandal in Georgia.
It is a Disease of Backward
Minds Elsewhere

TO KNOW whether civilization really deserves its name, whether it is getting any nearer to the true light or whether it is a futile and inconclusive business, you have only to view its accepted standards in contrast with such surviving tatters of the philosophy of earlier times as have just come to light in Georgia.

In Georgia, peonage—a system of forced labor under private control—was secretly established. Negro laborers who, having been neglected by the schools and neglected by society, did not know their rights, were kept in virtual slavery and brutally murdered when, in one instance, it appeared that they might testify against a plantation owner.

Some well-to-do people are likely to hang in Georgia.

The authorities of the state will use up a great deal of energy in investigations—and in apologies to the country. People who complain about what they call the defective morality of the times and who have been sickened and enraged by the disclosures at Covington will probably forget that peonage was general in the United States until a great war was fought to wipe it out; that it survived until very recently in Russia and that in Mexico it is still regarded by some influential people as a necessary institution of industrial development.

The primeval brute always comes to the surface in men who accidentally find themselves in complete control of the lives and destinies of others and free from the restraints and obligations of the common laws.

There is something in the very sense of despotic power that destroys human character. That is why the rulers of slave countries always have suffered degradation as great as that which they imposed on the subjected masses.

It is argued in Mexico—as, doubtless, it was argued in Georgia—that laborers native to warm climates are not disposed to work as hard or to produce as much as may be expected of them. So a system of "contract labor" was devised and established through the aid of corrupt police officials in Mexico and a state of slavery was informally recognized by the authorities. It is a system from which in the past hordes of peons sought freedom through revolution.

In the rubber country of Africa old King Leopold of Belgium, playing a part that great concession holders in unexploited countries still yearn to play even now, maintained slave colonies out of which an international scandal grew. Though Africa was supposed to be under the protection of powers opposed to slavery, the abuses in the regions controlled by Leopold were such as to shock Europe when they were exposed a few years ago.

Every new manifestation of the slave-owning and slave-driving instinct—whether it be in a king who calmly sends the men of a nation out to be slaughtered or in a Mexican mine or on a Georgia plantation—is fresh proof of the immeasurable value of civilized codes and of the necessity for maintaining and elaborating them.

No man can be safe or even tolerable in present-day society who assumes to exercise personal and exclusive authority over large

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Williams and Manning, the colored man who declared that Williams compelled him to commit eight of these murders, have been indicted and are in jail. The Department of Justice is on the case and it appears that Governor Dorsey of Georgia will take some steps on behalf of the state.

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"As an isolated case, the Jasper County murder of at least eleven Negroes, because they threatened to reveal peonage conditions there, is not as important as the fact that it is indicative of a widespread and closely organized system in the South. Horrible as the facts are, they can be duplicated in every Southern state. The Mississippi Delta region, embracing the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Missis- sippi, western Tennessee and eastern Texas, is built on this system of debt-slavery."

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At the time of this writing the Jasper County affair has as- sumed an added but well recognized phase. The morning papers report the fact that in response to tales that were spread of a big Negro uprising hundreds of heavily armed white men poured into the county from the surrounding districts. They came in for the purpose of putting down the "uprising." As it was, there were not enough colored people anywhere in sight to give the slightest color to the rumors that had been sent out.

Here we have the same sort of thing that happened in the Ar- kansas cases, only in that instance the ruse succeeded. In Arkansas the colored farmers decided to hire a lawyer and sue their landlords in the courts for an accounting. The cry of a Negro uprising went out and thousands of armed white men came in from Mississippi and Tennessee and massacred scores of Negroes. This not only covered up the question of peonage but threw on the Negroes the charge of a conspiracy to massacre.

If there had been gathered together any number of Negroes at any one place in the vicinity when these armed white men came into Jasper County, they would have suffered a like fate to that of the Negroes in Phillips County, Arkansas, in 1919.

We deplore what has taken place in Jasper County, Ga., but it these terrible disclosures should arouse the country and bring about an investigation that will end peonage the colored men who died on John Williams' plantation will not have died in vain.

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Agriculture - 1921 Labor Conditions Chained Bodies Of Negroes Found In Yellow River

Newton County Is Much Mystified Over Discovery of Crime Sunday.

Constitution 3/14/21
Covington, Ga., March 13.—(Special.)—Newton county was thrown into excitement Sunday when it was learned that the bodies of two young negro men, tied hand and foot, fastened together with a trace chain and heavily weighted with rocks, had been discovered in the deep water of Yellow river at Allen's bridge, near Stewart.

A coroner's jury, immediately summoned, was unable to arrive at any motive for the death of the negroes, and their bodies, which were so badly decomposed as to be unrecognizable, were buried on the banks of the river near the spot where they were found. It is believed the negroes were chained and hurled into the water from the bridge.

A young white boy playing at the bridge noticed a foot protruding from the water and investigation revealed the submerged bodies. D. T. C. Hardeman, who made an examination, was of the opinion that they had been dead for ten days or more.

Absolutely no trouble has occurred in this county recently to which the death of the two negroes who are believed to have been about twenty years of age, might be attributed, and people in this vicinity are completely mystified over the occurrence. It is thought probable that the negroes came from Jasper county, as no Newton county negroes are reported missing.

U. S. Grand Jury Indicts Sheriff Body of Third And His Nephew Negro Is Found Chained in River

False Arrest of Negro and "Holding Him as Slave," Charge.

Constitution 3/16/21
Charged with violating section 268 of the penal code of the United States, which makes it a crime punishable by a maximum fine of \$5,000 or a maximum penitentiary sentence of five years, or both, to falsely arrest and hold any other person as a slave, W. F. Persons, sheriff of Jasper county, and H. K. Persons, his nephew, both of Monticello, were indicted Tuesday by the federal grand jury.

The joint indictment by the grand jury came as the first official act of that body in connection with the sweeping probe of peonage conditions in a number of Georgia counties.

Presentments against the well-known Georgians will be made probably today by the district attorney's office.

Law Violations Charged.

The government charges that Sheriff Persons and his nephew violated the federal statutes when the causer the alleged illegal arrest of Robert Lee Griggs, a negro farmer, said to have been formerly employed by H. K. Persons.

Griggs was arrested in Atlanta on January 26, 1921, by Call Officer McDaniel and Davis, after the Atlanta police department had been notified that a warrant charging Griggs with assault with intent murder on a negro girl, had been issued in Monticello by A. J. Minte a justice of the peace. The alleged assault was said in the warrant to have occurred on December 27, 1920. The government charges the warrant was not properly recorded.

On January 29, Griggs was carried back to the jail at Monticello. Sheriff Persons released Griggs from the jail without the proper court procedure and the government contends that the arrest of Griggs was a scheme to return him to his former employer. Shortly after the government began an investigation, it is said, the negro was rearrested by Sheriff Persons.

H. K. Persons Surrenders.

H. K. Persons surrendered Tuesday afternoon to John Dean Stewart, chief deputy of the United States district court, and furnished bond. He stated that Sheriff Persons, his uncle, would appear and furnish bond within a day or two.

Although the indictments grew out of the investigation made by department of justice agents into peonage conditions in Georgia, the men were not indicted under the peonage law, but under an entirely different section of the statutes which provides for the punishment of "whoever kidnaps or carries away any other person with the intent that such other person be sold into involuntary servitude, or held as a slave."

No Newton County Negroes Reported Missing—Deaths Mystify Officials.

Constitution 3/18/21
Covington, Ga., March 17.—(Special.)—As a sequel to the discovery in Yellow river, near here, last Sunday, of the bodies of two negroes, chained and weighted down, the body of a third young negro man was found this afternoon floating in the river. The discovery was made at Mann's bridge. The body was first noticed by Tobe Smith.

The body had a chain about its neck. The end of a plow line, attached to a bag of rocks weighing 100 pounds, was tied to the chain, in such a manner as to make death by drowning certain. The body when found was floating with its feet out of the water, with the head and chest submerged.

A peculiar circumstance of the three deaths lies in the fact that the negro found this afternoon wore shoes newly half-soled with the casing of an automobile tire. Both the negroes found last Sunday wore shoes half-soled with automobile tire casing, apparently of the same make.

No Disappearances Reported.

Mystification has been heightened through the fact that, so far as Sheriff E. L. Johnson has been able to ascertain, no negroes in the county are reported missing. Investigation of the affair will, it is stated, be carried into adjoining counties, in an effort to determine whether or not any negroes have been reported missing.

The people of Covington and vicinity are thoroughly aroused, and are anxious for the circumstances surrounding the deaths to be cleared up.

Much excitement was caused last Sunday when the two young negro men, tied hand and foot and fastened together with a trace chain, were found in the river, heavily weighted with rocks. These bodies were found in the deep waters of the river at Allen's bridge, near Stewart.

No Motive Assigned.

A coroner's jury, immediately summoned, was unable to assign any motive for the deaths of these two negroes, which were so badly decomposed as to be unrecognizable. These bodies, as was the body of the negro found this afternoon, were buried on the bank of the river. The discovery of the bodies last Sunday was made by a young white boy, playing near the river bank, who noticed a foot sticking out above the stream. They had evidently been in the river about ten days.

Absolutely no trouble to which the deaths of the three negroes might be attributed has occurred in the vicinity recently. It is thought that the men might have come from Jasper county.

Sensations Seen In Federal Probe Of Peonage Here

District Attorney Intimates Newton Citizens Could Explain Bodies in River.

Constitution 3/19/21
Sensational developments may be expected within the next few weeks as a result of the federal investigation of peonage conditions in various Georgia counties under the supervision of United States District Attorney Hooper Alexander, it was learned Friday.

What is considered a significant development was contained in a statement made Friday by the district attorney in connection with the finding of the bodies of three unknown negro men in the Yellow river near Covington during this week, in which he intimated that Newton county citizens are not di-

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm, divulging all they know as to the identity of the men and the reason for their deaths.

Peonage Alleged.

It has been known that the government has had under way an investigation into alleged peonage conditions in Jasper county, which is adjacent to Newton county, and for that reason the district attorney was questioned Friday in connection with the discovery of the three bodies.

"It is, no doubt, true that the corner's jury in Newton county have not sufficient evidence as to who committed the murder," Mr. Alexander stated. "But I am morally sure, and I have no doubt that half the people of Newton county are equally sure as to where the negroes came from, and why they were slain. It is not the first time by any means that the same things have happened, and for the same reasons, and the situation is a challenge to the conscience and civilization of the state."

Mr. Alexander would make no further statement in connection with the affair.

Grand Jury Probe.

The federal grand jury will meet again on April 4 and the government in preparing to lay cases before that body for consideration, as a result of discoveries made by department of justice agents in certain Georgia counties.

The first indictment to be obtained by the government in its probe into peonage conditions in the state was returned last week when Sheriff Persons, of Jasper, the adjoining county, and W. K. Persons, his nephew, were indicted on a charge of kidnapping and re- manding to a virtual state of slavery a negro farmhand formerly in the employ of W. K. Persons. Their case has been set for trial on April 4, the same day that the grand jury convenes.

URGES PROTECTION OF NEGROES HERE

Governor Says Grand Juries Should "Wake Up." Statement Misinterpreted, Asserts Alexander.

Constitution 3/20/21
Declaring that the grand juries of the state will soon reap a whirlwind if they do not "wake up and get busy," Governor Dorsey gave a statement to The Constitution Saturday in which he heartily commended Hooper Alexander, United States district attorney, for the investigation being made by the department of justice into conditions among negro farmers and farm hands in certain Georgia counties. "There is no question but that the conditions are far from what they should be," the governor said. "The negro should be regarded by the people of our state as an asset at least, but it seems that there is a

class in the state which is disposed to regard him otherwise. The grand juries of the state should wake up and get busy. If they don't they are going to reap a whirlwind. County officials should make a most searching inquiry into all deaths similar to those disclosed through the discovery of the three bodies in the Yellow river within the past few days."

Interprets Sentence.

District Attorney Alexander stated Saturday that the interpretation put on one sentence of a statement made by him Friday in connection with the finding of the three bodies in Newton county and published in Saturday's Constitution was not what he had intended in writing the card. The sentence in question was as follows:

"But I am morally sure, and I have no doubt that half the people of Newton county are equally sure, as to where the negroes came from, and why they were murdered."

The Constitution, in its introduction to the statement, in referring to this portion of it, stated that he "intimated that Newton county citizens are not divulging all they know as to the identity of the men and the reason for their deaths."

That was the inference The Constitution reporter who handled the story drew from Mr. Alexander's statement, but since the district attorney says this is not what he intended to convey through the statement, The Constitution gladly makes this publication.

Alexander's Statement.

Mr. Alexander's statement which he issued in writing Friday, the interpretation of which he corrects, was as follows:

"In regard to the three negroes whose dead bodies were recently found in Yellow river, it is, no doubt, true that the coroner's jury in Newton county have no sufficient evidence as to who committed the murder or why. I am in the same condition."

"But I am morally sure, and I have no doubt, that half the people of Newton county are equally sure, as to where the negroes came from, and why they were murdered. It is not the first time by any means that the same things have happened, and for the same reasons, and the situation is a challenge to the conscience and civilization of the state."

Story From Covington.

The Constitution Saturday received the following communications from Covington, the county seat of Newton county:

"We, the undersigned officials of Newton county, feel that our county was grossly misrepresented in your paper Saturday morning by the statement of Hon. Hooper Alexander in which he said in discussing the finding of the bodies of several negroes in Yellow river in Newton county, I am morally certain, and have no doubt, that half of the people of Newton county are equally sure as to where the negroes came from and why they were slain. It is not the first time that the same things have happened and for the same reasons."

"The finding of the negroes was a shock not only to the officers of this county, but to its citizenship generally, so much so that efforts have been successfully made to get Governor Dorsey to offer a reward for the apprehension of the parties involved in this horrible crime."

"The sheriff's office has done everything in its power to secure evidence looking to the finding of the criminals, but has been unsuccessful."

Not Citizens of Newton.

"The negroes found were not citizens of Newton county. More than

(From over)

100 negroes viewed the bodies after they were taken out of the river and no one recognized either of them. Diligent inquiry has been made in every section of the county and there are no negroes missing.

"We think that Mr. Alexander, in his desire to fill his office well and acceptably, has rather overstepped the mark and has done the citizens of Newton county a grave injustice.

"The superior court of Newton county will begin its sessions here March 21, and if Mr. Alexander knows of a single citizen in this county who could throw any light on this crime we hereby pledge ourselves to give him and his witness our moral and official support.

"If he will inform us as to the names of any of these people we will see that they are brought before the grand jury. We simply add this that there has been only one lynching in Newton county since the civil war, and that was for the rape of a white woman by a negro more than thirty-five years ago.

"We hope you will give our denial of this charge as prominent a place in your paper as you gave Mr. Alexander's statement."

Signed by: A. L. Lloyd, ordinary; B. L. Johnson, sheriff; Joe W. Wright, county treasurer; C. O. Nixon, clerk of superior court; O. M. Neely, tax collector; H. I. Horton, tax receiver; P. E. Middlebrooks, N. P. ex-off. J. P.; W. I. Moon, J. J. Neely, T. A. Neely, J. H. Carroll, S. M. Hay, F. D. Ballard, county commissioners; W. C. Pope, J. C. Nixon, Jackson Harwell, coroner; D. H. Upshaw, coroner.

Meadows Sends Wire.

A. D. Meadows Saturday sent The Constitution the following telegram: "I have read with great interest and much surprise the statement made by the United States district attorney concerning the bodies found in the streams of Newton county and the intimidation made by him as to the knowledge of Newton county citizens concerning it and the attempted concealment.

"There is no one who deplors the tragedy more than the writer of this article, but from the statement made by the district attorney he has been misled concerning the facts.

"In the first place, after a careful investigation, no one has been found missing within the limits of Newton county, and it is evident that the bodies of these people were brought from some other section and deposited in the rivers of Newton county.

"I want to say further that so fair as the records of Newton county show and from the personal knowledge I have of its people they are law-abiding as a whole and should not be held responsible for the crimes of others without their territory.

"There has never been but one lynching in the county since it was created, which happened more than thirty years ago.

"I want to assure the district attorney, whom I claim as my friend, that he will find the people of this county ready and more than willing to co-operate with him or any one else in the enforcement of the law and the bringing of criminals to justice."

MYSTERY MURDER WITNESS IS FOUND

Constitution 3/22/21
Negro From Jasper Gives
Valuable Information.

Many Complaints Received by Governor.

The mystery surrounding the recent discovery of the bodies of two negroes, chained together, in Yellow river, and the subsequent finding of the body of a third one in South river, a short distance from the scene of the first discovery, was believed to be near a solution Monday night, following the visit to Atlanta of a negro, who appeared at the federal building during the afternoon and sought protection, declaring an attempt had been made to murder him a few nights ago, causing him to leave Jasper county.

After making a record of the negro's story, which is said to involve well-known citizens of that county, department of justice agents accompanied him to the office of Governor Dorsey, where his story of alleged cruelty was again related.

Gives Valuable Information.

Although no details as to the negro's charges have been given out, it is said his statement gives considerable light as to the manner, time and place in which the three men met their death. The name of the man was withheld by officials, who stated that his life is in jeopardy.

Governor Dorsey declared Monday night that if the county authorities would make the proper investigation into the three deaths they would probably find out the truth as to the perpetrators of the crime.

It was learned Monday that the governor has furnished the solicitor-general of the circuit, embracing Jasper county, with the names of six men against whom he asked indictments charging murder in connection with the recent lynching of Eugene Hamilton, which occurred in that section. Hamilton met his death at the hands of a mob of sixty men, it is said, and Governor Dorsey claims to have in his possession first-hand information as to the identity of six of the party.

It was stated by the governor that he receives almost daily complaints from negroes in all sections of the state to the effect that some white citizens have either tried to force them to stay and work for practically no pay at all, or to intimidate them to the extent that they are forced to leave home.

Case at the Capitol.

"We have a negro working right here at the capitol building who is a victim of treatment of the most brutal type," the governor said. "He still bears gashes about the hands and arms where he was slashed with a knife by a man from whom he attempted to run away.

"No indictment has been returned against the man for attacking the negro, but instead, the man secured an indictment against the negro and succeeded in having him given a chain-gang sentence on the claim that he was \$5 in debt to him. When the case came to our attention, we got the negro out on probation, and gave him employment here at the capitol.

"Conditions have arrived at the

disgraceful stage, when after a negro has run away from his country home he is forced back to the farm by the city detective department because he cannot find employment.

Negro Refugees Here.

"I know positively of 50 negroes here who are refugees. These negroes, some of whom are women, have related most pitiful stories of their sufferings and they are in constant fear of their lives because they ran away from their communities."

The federal government is continuing to investigate all complaints received by the bureau of investigation, for the purpose of prosecuting violations of the federal peonage and slavery acts. The grand jury will convene on April 4, and during the session probably will have Jasper county conditions brought to its attention by the district attorney's office.

The approaching trial of Sheriff Persons, of Jasper county, who, together with his nephew, was indicted by the federal grand jury a few days ago on a charge of kidnapping and remanding to slavery a former farm hand employed on the nephew's plantation, promises to be of unusual interest. The trial is set for April 4, on which date Willard Connell, wealthy Pike county farmer, under indictment for peonage, also will be tried.

TALE OF MURDER AND SERVITUDE TOLD BY NEGRO

Constitution 3/25/21
Says Jasper County Man
Held Negroes in Peonage and Caused Many Deaths.

NEWTON GRAND JURY HOLDS JOHN WILLIAMS

Alleged Accomplice Says
Eleven Negroes Were
Killed to Prevent Informing.

Sensational disclosures of alleged peonage and killing in Jasper county mark the sequel to recent discoveries of dead bodies of negroes mysteriously chained and weighted in Yellow river, near Covington.

Operation of a large plantation in Jasper county by negroes held in peonage; maintenance of a guard over the blacks with the aid of a member of their race; an organized rule by which plantation workers were held in servitude, and the systematic slaying of all who were feared as possible informers fea-

tured the revelations made within Fulton tower Thursday by Clyde Manning, a Jasper county negro.

Despatches from Covington contain the information that John Williams, a wealthy farmer of Jasper county, was Thursday afternoon held under a charge of murder by the grand jury meeting in that town. Jointly indicted with the plantation owner is the negro, Clyde Manning, by whom the confession was made, and who is held for safe keeping in the Atlanta jail.

Confesses to Officers.

The confession, it is said, was made earlier in the day to Deputy Sheriff Johnson, of Covington, by whom the negro was brought to Atlanta. Williams is in the Newton county jail. Both white man and black are held without bond. As a material witness in connection with the murder case, Clyde Freeman, a negro understood to have been connected with Williams' alleged establishment in Jasper county, is also held in the Fulton tower.

That eleven negroes met death at the hands of Williams and himself was a statement in the alleged confessions of the negro Manning. He declared that he helped Williams kill the men, six of whom were thrown into the Yellow river, chained and weighted, and five of whom were killed by other methods and buried.

In his confession, the negro is said to have represented himself as not only the accomplice, but the confidante of Williams. He stated that Williams would come to him prior to a killing and say, "Clyde, I'm scared of that negro," meaning that he considered the black indicated a possible informer, and considered it best that he should be killed for the safety of himself.

Federal Probe.

A federal investigation of peonage is being conducted in various Georgia counties by United States District Attorney Hooper Alexander. The federal grand jury will meet on April 4, and the government is preparing to lay cases before that body for consideration, as a result of discoveries made by department of justice agents in certain Georgia counties.

FIND BODIES OF 2 MORE PEONS

N. Y. C. JOURNAL
MARCH 28, 1921
40 Believed Slain on Williams

Plantation—Two Dug Own Graves.

MACON, Ga., March 28.—Reports from Jasper County to-day say that the authorities have reason to believe that forty negroes in all have been slain on the 2,200-acre plantation of John Williams, now in jail. Eleven bodies in all have been recovered, six from streams and five from shallow graves on property owned by Williams.

Like the first three found a number of days ago, the last two bodies recovered were chained together and weighted down with sacks of stone and iron. Five bodies were found Saturday buried on the Williams plantation.

The Coroner's jury expressed the opinion that both these negroes were thrown into the river alive. Their bodies were taken from the river within four feet of the point where the body of Charley Chisholm, a "trusty" on the Williams plantation, was found on Saturday.

Victim Dug Own Grave.

The first inquest was over the body of a negro known as John Williams, whose grave was dug by himself. He was killed on Saturday, March 5, it develops. A confession by Manning, repeated to the jury by county officers, was that the negro was sent to a pasture in a ravine not far from a

creek to dig a fence hole. Manning said he was waiting near by, and after the negro had dug deep enough to receive the body he struck him on the head with an axe. Manning stuffed the body into the hole and then packed the earth down tight.

Johnny Green, No. 2, was killed the same way while hunting for cows.

Willie Givens, No. 3, was knocked in the head while going to a store.

Fletcher Smith was sent to dig a well four miles away. Manning was hiding by and after Smith got a hole dug deep enough to receive his body Manning killed him and filled up the hole.

Plantation Owner Accused.

Another body was found in the centre of a 100-acre cornfield. This was "Big John." He was shot by Manning. The jury held that Manning was responsible for all of the deaths with the exception of "Little Bill" and John Brown, who, the jury held, were killed by Manning, Chisholm and Williams, the plantation owner.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

Resume of 'Murder Farm' Case Which Goes to Trial Tuesday; Startling Revelations Expected

The Nation Startled
in its accusations

bodies in the Yellow and South rivers a month ago remained a mystery until Clyde Manning was arrested and brought before the Newton grand jury. He refused to talk at first, but after a "grilling" by Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, he confessed.

Points Out Graves.

Williams and his three boys were at the courthouse at the time. Manning was rushed to the Fulton county tower, and the next day, March 25, Williams was sent to Atlanta. Saturday Manning was brought back to the "death farm" and the Alcovy river, where he pointed out the graves of the victims.

Six decaying bodies, five dug from shallow graves and another dragged from the murky depths of the Alcovy, were the mute and revolting evidence at the end of the day's search. On Sunday, two more bodies were found in the river, and officials have stated that they have testimony to the effect other bodies are missing.

Here is the substance of Manning's confession:

Manning's Statement.

"I knocked four negroes in the head with an ax in one week and buried them in a pasture back of Mr. Johnny's (Williams) house.

"Why did I do it? Because the boss said he wanted to get rid of them negroes and that if I didn't make 'em disappear, he'd kill me. And I knew he meant what he said.

"Charlie Chisholm, another one of Mr. Johnny's trusty negroes, put in a little work—he killed one suspicious negro by braining him with an ax. Then, a little later Mr. Williams got uneasy about Charlie and made me get him. Me and Mr. Johnny took him to the river one night and pitched him off the bridge after we weighted him down. Charlie begged hard, but Mr. Johnny said: 'Let's throw him over and have it over with.'

"I don't know how many negroes there are in the river, but I helped Mr. Williams to drown six, including Charlie Chisholm. We took the other five to the river at night, after getting them out of their houses, and chained 'em down with rocks and threw 'em in.

"Yes, sir, they all cried and begged—and some of 'em asked to be knocked in the head before being thrown in, but Mr. Johnny wouldn't do it and wouldn't let me do it—we just threw them off the bridge and rode on back to the plantation.

Drowned Negroes.

"Most of the drowned negroes came off the farm of Mr. Huland Williams—my boss' son. But a few of the ones Mr. Johnny called 'bad' and wanted done away with came off of his own farm.

"Most of these dead negroes was originally from Atlanta, Macon, or somewhere else—they didn't come from Jasper county. Mr. Huland Williams, the son of my boss, would go to Atlanta and Macon and get the negroes out of the stockade by paying their fines. I used to hear

him and his father talking about all that.

"Well, they brought the negroes to the farm and put 'em to work and kept guards over 'em all the time so as not to let 'em get away. I don't know whether they got any pay or not—I know Mr. Johnny paid me \$20 a month and board.

"Of course, mister, I'm sorry I knocked all them boys in the head and helped Mr. Johnny do away with them others, but there wasn't nothing else I could do—the boss told me if I didn't do as he said, I would be the next dead negro around there. I admits I have always been mighty afraid of Mr. Williams.

"When he got ready to kill a negro, he would come to me and say, 'Clyde, I'm scared of that negro.' Then he would tell me what he wanted done, and being as I was working for him and couldn't get away myself, I had to go ahead and do it."

Williams' Reply.

Williams' reply to these charges follows:

"It's all a lie. This trouble all began six or seven years ago and was caused by controversies over land lines and live stock. Mrs. M. Leverett and her three sons, Dave, Tom and Roy, own a farm adjacent to mine. They claimed I had part of their land, and since then arguments over stock have occurred.

"If any negroes have been killed by Manning it was under the orders of the Leveretts and not mine. It's all a frame-up between these boys to break my neck in the federal courts," he continued. "It is true that I have secured some negroes from jail. I have bailed them out just as other farmers, and I have paid them salaries. There has been nothing illegal in such transactions of mine."

Williams was asked if there had been any recent trouble between the two families.

"Yes," he replied. "Last fall they (the Leverett boys) charged my boys with having reported a still to county officials and a shooting scrape almost resulted from that. Not long ago Dave Leverett and I had a fight, and it was after this that they threatened to 'break our necks' in the federal courts.

"If I had killed the negroes, I wouldn't have carried them fourteen miles away to dump them in a river, but would have placed them in the river near my farm, where I know the depth," he continued.

"Manning's statement is a positive lie. I never shot one of the negroes, nor ordered him to hit four of them in the head, and neither did I haul six of them to points on the Yellow river, where they were drowned 'like cats,' as he says."

Abuse of State.

With the publishing of the negro's confession and the subsequent discovery of the eleven bodies under his direction, the smoldering fire of abuse of conditions in Georgia broke out afresh. From the north and south once again the Georgian has an opportunity to read of his state lead-

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm.

ing all in the number of lynchings. Every American state is accustomed to vicious political campaigns, featured with hatred and personalities. Yet the majority of the press awards Georgia the leading position.

Atlanta is held up as the one large city in the south with a record for crime and scandal. The present civic scandal is discussed with renewed interest. The city is censured for allowing the operations of the bunco gang, while the whole state is held up in a false light of lawlessness.

And to cap the climax of the series of crime, the revolting story of the "death farm" has been told to the world, and the state is criticised for its system of laws which make such a crime possible.

Dorsey's Attitude.

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey has declared that "after some communications in Georgia have driven away their farm labor and their farm hands, they will have an opportunity to sit down and think over calmly whether it pays to deal justly with the negro."

The chief executive of the state and its thousands of better citizens are in accord that any traces of peonage must be stamped out. A blanket indictment of the state, in the opinion of its citizens, should not be made because there is a bad class existing within its borders.

The best authority on the situation, Vincent Hughes, head of the bureau of investigation of the federal department of justice, who has made a thorough study of the actual conditions, was requested by The Constitution correspondent to outline his opinion, and he granted an interesting interview today.

Probe Peonage.

"This office receives and investigates every complaint of peonage arising in the territory comprising almost the whole state of Georgia," he said. "The bulk of our work now is on peonage complaints, and there are more of these than all other cases combined. We find ourselves handicapped in handling many of these complaints because the law is not broad enough.

"The technical crime of peonage is only committed when involuntary servitude exists on a basis of debts, and many negroes are held in servitude through fear and other coercion, perhaps more so than for debt. On a basis of geographical origin of complaints we receive, I should say that peonage in Georgia is not widespread in the sense of being state-wide," he continued.

"Judging from the complaints we receive a far greater part of Georgia is free from the practice which seems to center in two or three sore spots, where social conditions are less advanced." Pointing to a map, Mr. Hughes indicated Jasper, 50 miles from Atlanta, as the worst peonage county in the state. He pointed to Pike as another county showing symptoms, and then a block of several counties in south-central Georgia as a third origin of complaints.

Country Victims.

"Most of the peonage victims," he said, "are country negroes. In the case of Williams, who got his negroes from city stockades, however, we find a difference, both in the class and in the fact that they were day laborers, for the majority of the complaints we have investigated are cases of tenant farmers. These men are working on an arrangement by which the landowner supplies mules, cotton seed, tools and fertilizer, with the tenant contributing labor and receiving from a quarter to a half of the crop.

"The tenants usually buy food at the tenant commissaries," he continued. "I have no hesitation in saying that the number of complaints reaching us concerning ne-

groes of this class has increased markedly lately. I believe that the condition of the cotton market has something to do with it, for with most of the farmers holding last year's crop, the temptation to avoid paying out money is very strong, while at the same time they need labor.

"My impression is that the bulk of Georgia white residents are guiltless of intentional violations of the peonage law, just as my experience leads me to believe that the bulk of white citizens are wholeheartedly back of our efforts to stamp out peonage," he asserted.

Local Conditions.

"That attempts are sometimes made to hinder or block our investigations, prove nothing but the fact that local conditions favor peonage. We expect them, and, in the long run, they cannot greatly hinder us."

"Through investigations by our agents have found Newton county to be free of peonage," declared Mr. Hughes. "We have received splendid support from the county officials of Newton county in the investigation we have made, and we feel that the linking of the name of Newton county with peonage charges does the citizens of that county an injustice."

The loophole in the peonage law may be best shown in the federal indictment of Sheriff W. F. Persons, of Jasper county, for "kidnaping a negro into slavery." The question of debt servitude is not involved, and the case is not one of peonage. The charge brought against the sheriff was the only possible one.

It is alleged by the federal authorities that a negro left Persons' farm in Jasper county and came to Atlanta, where the sheriff found him and carried him back. The negro was then made to work, it is charged. If Persons could have prevented the negro from leaving, it was pointed out, there is no possible way in which the federal officials could have stopped such action, no matter how clear the facts about involuntary servitude might have been, for no question of debt was involved.

Attitude of People.

Now, back again to the question of the attitude of Georgia people toward peonage.

Certainly the opinion of a northerner should be considered impartial to the state.

In this connection Rowland Thompson, staff correspondent of The New York World, has been making an investigation with The Constitution correspondent of the Williams case and the real peonage conditions in Georgia. Governor Dorsey has commended the action of The World in sending a representative to "cover" the case at the scene of the murders and alleged violations of the peonage laws.

"How do the Georgia people in general feel about the present situation?" Mr. Thomas was asked.

"My unqualified answer to that question," he replied, "is that every decent white man and woman in Georgia, which means at least 90 per cent of the state's white population, is as deeply outraged and indignant over the recent revelations as the people of any other part of the country can be.

"My conclusion has been reached as follows: I came south feeling that the discussion of the prevalence of peonage here was going to be a 'ticklish' topic—likely to lead to evasions and arouse resentment. Instead of this, I have found all the people in Atlanta have raised the question themselves and have been outspoken in both the admission of conditions and determination to have the evils removed.

"This is the attitude of men of vision and education," he said.

Rural Districts.

"I then came to the rural dis-

(over)

(From over)
tricts of Newton county still expecting to find a different attitude here. But again I was disappointed. The same frankness, the same indignation, the same determination to give the negro a square deal was found. Everywhere this sentiment is manifest among farmers and small town business men of rugged, pure American stock.

"During the past few days I have become acquainted with a number of the people here—on the courthouse steps and in the stores.

"I have received the definite impression that not one of these men is willing to stand for any mistreatment of the negro, both for sentimental and practical reasons.

Proper Basis.

"Proper relations between the two races is the only basis of prosperity and well-being of all. I believe the people realize this. Their inherited feeling toward the child-like negro, of whom none is so poor and outcast but he can turn to some white friend if in trouble and get help, is outraged at what someone has done to help less negroes in the vicinity of the Williams' farm.

"For this reason, too, they are bound to know if any other negroes are mistreated in Georgia and to have any men guilty of it punished, regardless of color, according to the impression I have received. Country Georgia is as strong as ever for white supremacy," he added, "but is equally as strong in seeing that the negro gets a square deal.

"Therefore, unless the many men with whom I have conversed in both city and country have been insincere and have succeeded in hoodwinking not only me but also highly competent Georgia observers, any person asserting that Georgia will tolerate further peonage because the persecutors are white and the victims colored, risks the suspicion of not speaking from first hand observations.

May Be Beneficial.

"The condition of the public mind seems such that the revelations in Jasper county, as hideous and revolting as they are, may in the end prove salutary by causing prompt and permanent eradication of something which might otherwise have lingered long unobserved in isolated communities," he concluded.

Peonage is Georgia's own problem to correct, one of the federal authorities stated Saturday, and the department is continuing its investigations in a number of counties with the assurance that they have the co-operation of most Georgians.

Even the leading citizens of Jasper, the county which government agents declare is the worst violator of peonage laws, have assured Governor Dorsey of their desire to support the investigations which will reach a climax when the grand jury meets in Monticello April 11. At that time charges of murder in Jasper county will be preferred against Williams and his sons and indictments will be sought. Attention is called to Rev. J. J. Winburn's statement elsewhere in this edition.

Judge John B. Hutcheson will preside at the trial Tuesday. Solicitor Brand, W. M. Howard and Assistant Attorney-General Graham Wright will prosecute the case against Williams. Greene F. Johnson, distinguished member of the Georgia bar, will be leading counsel for the defense, and will have associated with him W. H. Key, of Monticello. One hundred men have been summoned by Judge Hutcheson in order that the jury may be selected as soon as possible after court convenes.

Thorough Probe Is Wanted By Citizens, Says Minister

The following statement, from Rev. J. J. Winburn, prominent minister of Jasper county, was received Saturday night by The Constitution. Mr. Winburn declares that the people of his county desire a thorough investigation of charges against John S. Williams and his sons, and that they will co-operate with all officials to this end. His statement follows:

BY REV. J. J. WINBURN.

For some days I have been trying to find some one who would write and give to the world that which every man, woman and child in Jasper county feels should be told. If Jasper county is the "darkest Africa" in Georgia. If its citizenry is made up of men who disregard all law. If it is dangerous for an officer from a foreign state or county to come within its confines. If its own elected and commissioned officers are unworthy of belief and are not to be trusted, it follows that, in all fairness, the world is entitled to know this. All of this and more has, by suggestion, been said of us. Jasper county's trial in the newspapers has been unfair. The conclusions reached have been untrue.

I wish to make myself perfectly understood. I am Johnnie Williams' pastor. I am Johnnie Williams' friend. It has been my privilege to be entertained many times in his home. I have been permitted to baptize and receive into the church four of his children—I have prayed and shall continue to pray for him, but, let me say this with emphasis, I am not engaged in his defense. If he is guilty of the atrocious crimes with which he has been charged, then let justice be done—and the heart and soul of Jasper county speaks through my pen.

My purpose is to defend my county and my people. I do this knowing that one who speaks on the defensive, speaks at a disadvantage, yet I make the assertion that Jasper county is not only not a bad county, but a good county. That her officers not only not bad men, but honest, efficient and safe men, and that her people are not only not bad people, but among the best that God ever made. That statement unsupported is of little value. If "by their fruits ye shall know them" is a good standard, then this county need not to be ashamed. We are willing to be measured by it. Religion means but little to those to whom it brings not a spirit of sacrifice and service. There are 13 Baptist, 8 Methodist and 2 Presbyterian churches in the county. Very recently these churches had opportunity to place themselves on record, and it is a glorious record. In the campaign launched by the Methodist and Baptist denominations they subscribed the quotas asked of them and went far beyond. And those pledges are being paid. There are 23 white and 33 colored schools in the county. The superintendent of these schools is one of the most consecrated Christian men in Georgia. No teacher is employed unless that teacher believes in and

practices the Christian virtues. The city of Monticello has just voted, and almost unanimously, an \$80,000 bond issue that the children of the Monticello school district may be given the educational advantages which they deserve. A people that give their money, that the truths of religion may be taught and the minds of their children trained, are not a bad people.

Jasper and War.

No greater test ever came to a people than that which came to our people when the world was plunged into war. The call was sounded and the call was for men and money. Jasper county heard that call. Bond issue followed bond issue. The need of our nation was told in song and story, but no appeals were needed in Jasper county. Our purses were opened wide, and to every call we responded with the purchase of more bonds than we were ever asked to buy. We gave our money and gladly, but we also gave that which was more precious than all the wealth of the world. The fathers and mothers of this county brought the young manhood from the hills and valleys, from town and country and laid them with tear-stained, yet smiling faces, on the altar of their country. The famous Rainbow division which in valorous bravery and unmatched sacrifices, wrote on the pages of history its immortal deeds in defense of womanhood, manhood, childhood and God came back, battered and broken, to American shores "to tell the world" that the splendid bravery exhibited in the very face of death by Jasper county boys made failure impossible. The vacant places of Jabus Bridges Roberts, Paul Bryan Minter, Lucius Smith Kelly, Samuel Henry Davis, whose bodies lie in Flanders fields, cry out in protest and in defense of the county that gave them birth. And there are those broken and maimed whose sacrifices pay tribute to the county whose homes they upheld. I said I would not defend Johnnie Williams; but I can't tell the story of Jasper county's contribution to the world war unless I shall speak of those four stalwart sons who when America called volunteered, and placed their strong, brave bodies in the way of the enemy and said "They shall not pass." Gus, Hulon, LeRoy and Marvin hearing their country's call, three to fight and one to minister, gave their all and gladly. Not only did this farm give its young manhood, but its cotton fields were made corn fields when America said we need men and food, and Dr. Gus Williams wears worthily today that most coveted of all tokens, the British war cross, pinned on his bosom by the hand of a king.

Hearts Are Broken.

Not only do I know that ours are good people by what they have achieved, but we do not suffer by comparison. A very great tragedy has come to our very doors. Our hearts are broken and strong men stood by the shallow graves of those negroes and wept like children. But because of this are we to be held up to the world as a menace to civilization and as a dangerous people. Some years ago I was preaching in one of the states best counties. A mob of men came in the night time and took from its common jail, one white man and ten negroes, and just outside its doors shot these to death. Can I be just and say that these people are all criminals? Because none of the lynchings were brought to justice is it dangerous for any officer outside of that county to visit it and dis-

charge his duty? The very absurdity of the question is its answer. I shall never forget a visit that I made to a Georgia city some years ago. I went in answer to that city's call for help. Human blood was running in the streets. Scores of negroes and some white men are said to have died in that riot, and I think none of those who were the leaders were ever made even to wear stripes. But is the Capital City of my state all bad? No. Within its limits are some of the best men and women that God ever made. At this very moment revelations are being made that are startling the world. Men have been lured from afar and they have been robbed. Murder has been done. If the public prints are true a man's life and his money are safe, much safer, in Jasper county than on the principal thoroughfares of Atlanta. But is it just! Is it fair, that this splendid city should be nailed to a cross of shame?

Another protest which I feel should be made in no uncertain terms is that, against the trial of the cases in the newspapers. I want to believe that our great newspapers are great. I would regret to have less confidence in the news columns or to have less respect for those who direct their policies. I think it is one of the fundamentals of old English law, and it's good law, that all issues which must come to trial shall be heralded only from the witness stand. I wonder sometimes if this practice in the English courts is responsible for the very few homicides in England today. Jurors come to court with unfair advantage taken of them unless they come without bias and without fear, his case before unbiased juries and who must rush into the newspapers in an apparent attempt to create a public sentiment, either for or against, needs an associate that is a lawyer. His job needs to be filled. No especial case or lawyer is referred to. The practice is bad.

Want Justice Done.

I have read in the daily papers that when the Superior court convenes in this county that it is contemplated sending troops here to be present at this court. I hope that no one has ever thought it necessary that this should be done, and I hope that this is a mistake. The good people of this county are ready, willing and able to see that an orderly justice is meted out to any guilty parties of any crime. We believe in law and order and will do everything in our power to see that it is carried out. It is our purpose, and no one need doubt, that the man who is charged with a crime will be given a fair and impartial trial by a set of twelve men of the old Anglo-Saxon strain of blood, unmixed with any foreign element whatever, and I know of no better people on earth.

The fact is, that the recent occurrence in this country, is purely an isolated matter in one corner of our county, and a thing which the rank and file of our people knew nothing, had nothing to do with it, and deplore it as deeply as could be. And the good people of our county stand ready at this minute to fully investigate the matter, to return an indictment against those who might be connected with the crime, to co-operate in every manner possible with the courts in giving those charged a speedy, fair, orderly and impartial trial, and for such, we certainly do not need the presence of any troops to see it is carried out. We are men enough and have enough sense of honesty and fairness to see that the law is vindicated to the fullest extent.

Another charge that has been made against us as a county needs to be noticed. That is the charge that we are slow to believe, even when evidence is given. I deny that charge. We do reserve conclusions until all the evidence is

given. But when all the truth has been told we decide—and quickly. I have said all this that I may say that which follows: I am not unlike my friends and neighbors who are all about me to day—we want justice done—justice!

Humane Society Will Call Upon Governor to Urge Abolishment of Whipping of Prisoners.

Resolutions declaring that flogging of prisoners in convict camps is "responsible, in a contributory sense, for the condition of peonage and murder alleged to have been found to exist on the so-called 'murder farm' in Jasper county," were adopted by the Atlanta Humane society at its monthly meeting yesterday afternoon in the assembly hall of the Chamber of Commerce building.

In the same resolutions, the Humane society also calls on Governor Hugh M. Dorsey to incorporate in his next message to the legislature a recommendation that a law be enacted abolishing the whipping of prisoners in any state institution. A committee of three was appointed to present the resolutions to the governor.

A report was made which showed that approximately 30 cases of cruelty to human beings and to animals have been investigated during the past month by the society and relief brought in each case.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions Clyde Manning Is Convicted of Murder; Verdict in Thirty-five Minutes, Same as That Given Williams

6- (Associated Press)
COVINGTON, Ga., May 31.—Clyde Manning, negro farm boss for John S. Williams, was convicted of murder in superior court here late today and sentenced to life imprisonment—the same sentence passed upon Williams when he was convicted here a short time ago. Manning had testified he aided Williams in killing negro farm hands to halt a peonage investigation, but claimed he acted in fear of his life.

The jury was out thirty-five minutes and then returned the same verdict as that of the Williams jury—murder with recommendation for mercy which automatically carried a life term. Marvin Underwood, employed by a group of Georgians to represent Manning, made a motion for a new trial and Judge John B. Hutcheson fixed the hearing for July 30 at Decatur. Williams also is seeking a new trial.

Manning was tried on the specific charge of the murder of Lindsey Peterson, of whose murder Williams was convicted, and today he calmly recited the story he told at the Williams trial, claiming that he and another negro killed eleven farm hands on Williams' orders. Later Manning claims to have slain the other negro, Peterson and two other negroes were alleged to have been brought into this county at night from the Jasper county and drowned.

Under Georgia law Manning could not have been accountable had he been able to convince the jury he killed the men through fear for his own life and the defense based its case on this, while the state sought to show the negro was a "willing accomplice."

Manning told the jury he killed the other negroes "because Mr. Johnny told me to" and Mr. Underwood pleaded that Manning was "merely a tool in the hands of a driving force" and urged his acquittal.

Solicitor General Brand and former Congressman Howard pleaded for conviction, the solicitor contending that Manning as "boss" on the farm carried a pistol and that he acted not through fear but to gain favor of Williams.

WILLIAMS TAKES OATH OF PAUPER IN FILING APPEAL

6- (Associated Press)
Covington, Ga., May 31.—(Special.)—John S. Williams, owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," and reputed to have been a wealthy planter, signed a "pauper's oath" to carry his appeal for a new trial to the Georgia supreme court, an examination of the clerk of the Newton superior court records revealed tonight.

In addition to this, it was reported here that Williams' three sons, Marvin, Huland and Leroy, had sold over eighty bales of cotton on the large plantation just before they escaped from the state during the trial of their father.

Those acquainted with the affairs of Williams state that, as a result of his sale, the expense of his trial and a heavy loss sustained when work was interrupted on his plantation, that it is badly incumbered.

The announcement, however, that he was unable to pay a fee of \$10 in filing his appeal to the supreme court, came as a surprise to everyone here. Dr. Gus Williams, one of his sons, now has charge of the plantation. Williams is now under a life sentence for the murder of Lindsey Peterson, one of his former employees.

SLAVERY CHARGES TO BE PREFERRED IN WILLIAMS CASE

6- Constitution 6/19/21
John S. Williams, owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," now under sentence of life imprisonment for murder, and his three sons, Marvin, Leroy and Hewland, fugitives from justice, will be the principals against whom the federal authorities will attempt to obtain an indictment charging them with slavery, when the United States court convenes Monday.

Nine other cases of alleged peonage will be brought before the grand jury for acquittal, returning of true bills or further recommendations at the session.

The "slavery" charge will be pressed against the Williams boys and their father, in addition to a separate charge of violation of peonage laws.

Jasper County Farmer and Boys Are Charged With "Conspiracy to Violate Peonage Laws."

6- Constitution 6/21/21

John S. Williams, owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," sentenced to a life-term on the state farm for murder, and his three fugitive sons, Marvin, Huland and Leroy, were jointly indicted by the federal grand jury Monday morning for "conspiracy to violate the peonage law."

Just what change the indictment will make the actual status of the case is causing no little speculation in federal building circles. It cannot affect Williams, since only a new trial with a death sentence could be worse punishment than that he is now facing, unless he should obtain a new trial and be acquitted. And since the three sons are fugitives from justice in order to evade trial in the state courts on murder charges, it is thought by many that the returning of the true bills will serve as only as a matter of court records.

The session of the grand jury was an unusually busy one, a total

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

of 17 true bills being returned out of the 19 submitted. Two no-bills were returned against alleged liquor dealers.

Austyn L. Smythe, of Atlanta, was indicted for larceny from the U. S. mails, the specific charge being the theft of several pouches at the Terminal station on April 3, 1921, while employed as a substitute mail clerk.

Frank Bedgely, serving a sentence in the Atlanta federal penitentiary, had a true bill returned against him for assault. The case as cited alleged that Bedgely attacked one of the prison guards on May 12, 1921. The guard's name was William B. Austin, who charged Bedgely with striking him over the head twice, while he was at a desk making out a charge against the convict for insubordination. Other indictments were for alleged liquor violations.

A number of defendants were arraigned before Judge Sibley in the U. S. district court Monday morning for violations of liquor laws. G. C. Brown, of Fayette county, convicted of liquor selling, was sentenced to \$100 fine or 60 days and George Thomas, of the same county, and convicted for the same offense, received a sentence of \$50 or 30 days.

George Underwood, of DeKalb county, convicted of "bootlegging" and twice arrested for the offense was sentenced by Judge Sibley to pay a fine of \$200.

An unusual case confronted the judge in the appearance of Oscar Eugene Dutman, of Fayette county, prominent farmer, charged with alleged failure to appear for physical examination when drafted by army officials in November, 1918. Dutman stated he arrived at the county courthouse on November 11, 1918, and before reporting to the army officials, stopped by the courtroom in which court was in session. There, he declared, he heard from the judge's lips the announcement of the armistice being signed, and thinking the war over, he went back home. Judge Sibley dismissed the case.

PROBE IS PLANNED OF RACE TROUBLE

Continued From First Page.

the Beat Him and Kick Him, please Governor Do Subthen for us. Help us Please "And God will Bless you."

It was alleged by officials several days ago that "night riding" was occurring in Tallapoosa county, and in reply to this, The Constitution Wednesday night received a letter from Dr. H. F. White, of Crawfordville, who declared that "somebody has been trying to make a mountain out of a molehill."

"The writer, himself, knows of no night riding," reads the communication, "and inquiry of the sheriff and other influential and well-informed citizens shows that none has been heard of. The rumor was very probably based on a 'lark' engaged in by a few young men and boys, which, a night or two later, resulted in the manhandling of a negro boy, who was not hurt. Somebody has been trying to make a mountain out of a molehill."

Williams' Hearing Saturday.

Since the trial of John S. Williams owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," in Newton county superior court several weeks ago, federal officials have been active in investigating all reports of peonage in Georgia. Williams was sentenced to life imprisonment, and

his attorney, Greene F. Johnson, of Monticello, immediately moved for a new trial. Judge John B. Hutcheson will hear the arguments on the motion next Saturday in Decatur.

Federal agents assert that they now have in their possession evidence to the effect that six more negroes, in addition to eleven discovered following Clyde Manning's confession, have been murdered on the Williams plantation. Ten murder indictments against Williams have been returned in Newton and Jasper counties. There are also indictments for murder against Williams' three sons, Marvin, Huland and Leroy, in the latter county. The boys escaped from the state during their father's trial in Covington, and have never been apprehended.

Probe of Arrest Continued.

Investigation of the arrest and subsequent release of Tom Walker, a negro, who was taken into custody by four Jasper county men and a city policeman Monday night, is being continued by special agents of the department of justice, in spite of the assertion by Solicitor-General Doyle Campbell, of the Ocmulgee circuit, and Sheriff Persons, of Jasper county, that the proceedings were legal and regular. Walker returned to Atlanta Wednesday and conferred with department of justice officials.

Walker was arrested on a warrant said to have been sworn out by a negro named Jenkins, accusing him of kidnapping his son, who is a married man with several children, it was said. Jenkins and Walker worked together on the farm of John Smith, near the famous "murder farm" of John S. Williams, in Jasper county. Smith, accompanied by Bailiff Oscar Thomason, said to be a relative of Smith, and two other white men, came to Atlanta Tuesday, showed a warrant to the officer on the beat, and with his help arrested Walker. The policeman delivered the negro into their care without booking him at the police station.

MANNING TESTIFIES IN PEONAGE PROBE

6- Constitution 5/31/21

Clyde Manning and Nine Other Negroes Brought From Fulton Jail Before Bibb Federal Jury.

Macon, Ga., May 3.—Clyde Manning, chief witness for the state in the prosecution of John S. Williams for the murder of Lindsey Preston, negro, in Newton county, testified for more than an hour today before the federal grand jury regarding alleged peonage conditions on the farm of Williams and his three sons.

Two agents of the department of justice, G. W. Brown and A. J. Wisner, who investigated conditions on the Jasper county farm, also testified before the federal grand jury, which recessed at 2 o'clock until tomorrow morning.

Manning, with nine other negroes from the Jasper county farm, were brought here from Atlanta, where they have been confined in jail. The other nine negroes will testify tomorrow morning, it is stated, and Manning is expected to be questioned again. He spent the night in jail here.

The nine negroes brought here with Manning are: Judge Manning, brother of Clyde; Nina Manning, wife of Clyde; Claude Freeman, Fred Favors, Rufus Manning, Will Johnson, Gracy Johnson, Emma Freeman and Lessie May Benton.

United States District Attorney Powers announced this afternoon that no other peonage conditions have been investigated by the grand jury. It was learned tonight, however, that witnesses from Dooly county would appear before the jury tomorrow. Alleged peonage conditions in Dooly county are being investigated by the department of justice, it is said.

The grand jury is expected to make its report to Judge Beverly Evans late tomorrow.

NEGROES ARE TAKEN FROM FULTON TOWER.

Clyde Manning, the negro farm "boss" on the John S. Williams place in Jasper county, and all other witnesses who have been held here in connection with the investigation of peonage conditions on the Williams farm, were transferred Tuesday from Fulton to Bibb county to be used before the federal grand jury, now in session at Macon, and which is making an investigation of the peonage charges against Williams and his three sons. Jasper is just over the line dividing the northern and southern federal districts in the state, and the handling of any peonage cases against Williams and his sons will be through the office of District Attorney John W. Bennett instead of District Attorney Hooper Alexander.

It is also learned Tuesday that, although the investigation of the charges lodged against the Hogan brothers of Laurens county have been handled by the investigation bureau of the department of justice in Atlanta, the cases, if any should be developed, will be referred to the office of District Attorney Bennett in the southern district. It is reliably understood that a report has been made on the investigation so far as it has progressed concerning the Hogan plantation, but that report has not yet been transmitted to Mr. Bennett, which is believed here to mean, inasmuch as the grand jury is now in session, that nothing has yet been developed on which to present the Hogans to the court.

There is also information Tuesday, from several members of the legislature who are in the city, and who have been discussing the alleged peonage and murder conditions in the state, that both Mr. Alexander and Mr. Bennett, as well as the investigation bureau of the federal government, Governor Dorsey and the inter-racial committee of Atlanta will be called upon to put at the disposal of a special legislative committee all the information they have gathered, and that committee will undertake to sift and analyze it and make such further investigation as it deems proper, expedient and necessary to make, after

which some legislative action will be taken, either supporting the activity and comment that has gone on, or declaring that it was unjustified.

CLAIMS PROMISE OF HELP IN FIGHT TO GAIN LIBERTY

Atlanta Constitution 7/31/21
Defendant in "Murder Farm" Case Informs Authorities and Judge Hutcheson Is Then Told.

PLEA FOR NEW TRIAL FOR NEGRO IS DENIED

Charged Manning Was Promised He Would Come Out Alright If He Changed Story.

After refusing to grant Clyde Manning, self-confessed conspirator in the John S. Williams' "murder farm" case, a new trial, and following representations that certain persons had approached the negro in the Fulton county tower in efforts to persuade him to change his testimony regarding Williams' alleged participation in the killings, Judge John B. Hutcheson Saturday issued an order prohibiting any visitors from seeing the prisoner.

The hearing developed the fact that Manning claims he has been approached by parties who are said to have told the negro that "if he would tell the right story there were plenty of white men who would see that he came out all right."

No threats were made in the alleged attempt to persuade the negro "murder farm boss" to change his testimony in favor of Williams, who was given a life sentence.

The hearing for a new trial for Manning, who is under a life sentence, did not come as a surprise in Decatur, where Judge Hutcheson at the date several weeks ago, but announcement that attempts had been made to change the negro's testimony was the first intimation that persons other than E. Ma-

Underwood, his counsel, had been in conference with him.

Information Guarded.

No information relative to the individuals attempting to make the negro swerve from the evidence which sentenced John S. Williams, his employer, to the penitentiary for life, was disclosed by authorities. They made it known, however, that Williams' attorneys had no part in the proceedings, and it was understood that the parties had been retained by individuals other than those directly interested in the case.

In issuing his restraining order, Judge Hutcheson stated that no visitors other than Mr. Underwood, Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, who directed the prosecution against both Williams and Manning, and Sheriff Johnson, of Newton county, would be allowed to see the black, and advised officials to rigidly enforce his ruling.

Informs Authorities.

After the first attempt, Manning is said to have informed the proper authorities, who placed the matter before Judge Hutcheson. The restraining order was issued immediately after the judge had heard arguments of both sides in the hearing for a new trial and had refused to grant the petition.

Mr. Underwood appeared in behalf of Manning, basing his appeal on the ground that the evidence had not been sufficient to convict and that irrelevant testimony had been admitted. Solicitor Brand represented the state, taking the position that

Court Says

Chicago Tribune 8/13/21
Atlanta Constitution 7/31/21
No Visitors
to Manning

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 12.—Under a recent order pronounced by Judge John B. Hutcheson of the Stone Mountain circuit court Clyde Manning, convicted boss of the "Williams murder farm," seems doomed to a life of solitary confinement. At the court hearing in Decatur not only was Manning denied a new trial but a restraining order, issued immediately after the trial by the court, denies to anyone except court officials and the prisoner's attorneys the privilege of seeing him.

The excuse given for such a drastic order was the fear that certain sinister influences among the whites were at work to force Manning to retract his story which resulted in the sentencing of John Williams, plantation owner, to life imprisonment. In the demand for a new trial charges were made that certain persons had approached Manning in his cell in the Fulton county tower and promised to get him out of his trouble if he would change his story. Manning is reported to have summoned the jail officials and divulged to them the whole story. This story the officials are said to have communicated to Judge Hutcheson.

Manning has been held in the tower since early in June pending the out-

come of his appeal for another trial. E. Marvin Underwood, his attorney, has not decided whether an appeal will be made to the supreme court.

According to the evidence produced at the hearing Saturday, no threats were made, inasmuch as they could do little good, but Manning was promised that if he would tell the right story there would be plenty of white men who would see that he would come out all right by those who sought him in the tower.

The names of the persons whom Manning claims tried to induce him to change front were closely guarded by court officials.

Judge Hutcheson's order prevents all visitors other than Attorney Underwood, Solicitor General A. M. Brand and Sheriff Johnson of Newton county from seeing Manning.

Scene of Three Negro Murders

Constitution 7/31/21



Alcovy river at the Water's bridge, which links together Jasper and Newton counties. The bodies of three of the alleged negro victims of Clyde Manning and John S. Williams, according to the former, were found midway the stream, nearly under the bridge.

Agriculture—1921.

Labor Conditions

JUDGE IS ASKED FOR INSTRUCTIONS AFTER MIDNIGHT

Jurors Consider Case
From 4 O'Clock in Afternoon Until 1 Saturday
Morning Before Retiring.

BRILLIANT ARGUMENTS MARK CLOSING SCENES

Williams Confident of
Freedom—W. M. Howard and Greene Johnson
Make Notable Appeals.

Constitution 4/9/21

BY MARION KENDRICK,

Constitution Staff Correspondent.

Covington, Ga., April 9.—(Special.) Georgia's most dramatic trial came to an end Friday afternoon at 4 o'clock and the life of John S. Williams, charged with murder in connection with the killing of eleven negroes in the vicinity of his Jasper county plantation, still hangs in the balance, the jury retiring at 1 o'clock this morning to resume its deliberations at a later hour Saturday.

After remaining out for nearly eight hours the jury sent for Judge John B. Hutcheson and on his arrival the twelve men filed in at 12:12 o'clock Saturday morning. The foreman informed the court that the members desired further instructions on the time of a commission of crime.

"Would you gentlemen rather have the instructions now or wait until daylight?" asked the judge.

"We would like to have them now," was the reply.

Referring to his notes of his first charge, the court stated that it was sufficient for the state to show that the murder was committed prior to the return of the bill of indictment.

A review of reasonable and unreasonable doubt, the weight to be placed on the defendant's statement, circumstantial evidence, corroboration, murder, malice, establishment

of an alibi, and the forms of verdicts, was also given.

Williams

Enters.

Williams entered the courtroom with Sheriff Johnson just before the instructions were given. His hair was ruffed and there was no tie in his soft silk collar. He was smiling, and remarked that he had not been asleep during the evening. Both Solicitor Brand and Attorney Greene F. Johnson had dressed hastily.

When the judge had completed his instructions he returned the bill of indictment and told the jury it might retire or resume its deliberations.

The men filed back into the antechamber, but soon after retired for the night.

In a still crowded courthouse, the defendant, with members of his family, awaited the verdict for hours, but the signs of nervousness which marked his appearance Thursday and early Friday morning, as he listened to ex-Congressman William M. Howard's masterful closing address for the state, have passed away.

Williams is now as quiet and as unconcerned as he was while in the Fulton county Tower, for the argument of Greene F. Johnson, who spoke nearly four hours Friday in defense of his client, seems to have restored his confidence that he will be acquitted to return to his family.

Long Remembered Day in Newton.

Friday was a day that will long be remembered in Newton county. Since the trial started Tuesday with the selection of the jury, the closing arguments of the former congressman and Mr. Johnson have been anticipated with intense interest. Many thought that the climax of the hearing was reached Wednesday when Clyde Manning, the negro whose confession implicated Williams, took the stand to reveal his morbid story of the murders, but when Mr. Howard began his address on the convening of court the largest crowd of the entire trial was present to hear him plead for the conviction of the farmer.

On the clerk's table to the right, cadets from Emory university academy were seated. For the first time since it started, the trial was attended by women other than those of the Williams family. Within the attorneys' bar, many society women of Covington sat throughout the morning and returned again in the afternoon.

Howard Makes Profound Impression.

Standing in front of a group of old confederate veterans and speaking in a slow, modulated voice, Mr.

Peonage (Ga) Williams' Farm

Howard began his address which was later characterized by E. Marvin Underwood, former assistant attorney-general of the United States, as one of the most eloquent and masterful arguments he had ever heard. Others spoke of his analysis of the state's evidence as "marvelous."

Nearing the end of his address, former Congressman Howard declared that the law should be upheld against Williams despite the fact his victims were negroes. "You can't bring back these 11 negroes, who went to their fate as men without the rights of citizens because they had disobeyed the law and were ex-convicts," he stated. "We can't compensate their families. But we can see that justice is done and the majesty of the law upheld."

Just as he finished this, he fell backward, but caught himself. It had been evident from the first of his speech that he was in poor physical condition, but this in no way interfered with the impression of his argument until the end. During his entire address, Mr. Howard had held the close attention of the jury and spectators. In the closing minutes of his appearance before the jury, the climax of the trial had been reached to remain until Green Johnson had completed his argument.

Williams' Eyes Fixed on Prosecution.

Williams kept his eyes fixed on Howard and the jury until the argument had ended. The defendant was attired in a black mohair suit, silk shirt, soft collar and blue tie. In his coat lapel was a white rose. Sitting next to him was Mrs. Williams and several of his children. The Williams boys were still absent.

At the conclusion of Mr. Howard's argument, Judge Hutcheson adjourned court for fifteen minutes, and the jury retired from the room. Only a few people left their seats during the intermission, despite of the fact that the atmosphere was very oppressive. The legal battle for the life of Williams had not ended.

Howard Closes For Prosecution.

Mr. Howard, closing for the state at the morning session of court named the eleven farm hands killed and pointed out all came from jails in Atlanta or Macon except one who was bailed out of jail in Monticello, and all worked for Williams or his sons.

"There are before you in the evidence eleven murders. They may be classified according to time, place manner of killing and the character common to the persons murdered," he explained.

"We should classify these murders in the order of time. First Johnnie Williams, killed with an ax. Next 'Big John,' killed with an ax. Next are Johnnie Green and Willie Givens, killed with ax. Then Fletcher Smith, killed with a gun. Then we should take those killed by drowning. These are Lindsey Peter-

son, Willie Preston, in the Yellow river. Harry Price in South river, and John Brown, Charlie Chisholm and 'Little Bit,' drowned in the Alcovy river. Six drowned and five killed on the farm of Williams or his son. All of these persons were either employed on Williams' farm or the farm of his son. These men were obtained either in stockades in Atlanta or in Macon.

Destructive Malady On Williams Farm.

"The destructive malady from which all these people came to their death was located on the farm of John Williams' places and the method by which they came to their death is connected with John Williams or some one on his places."

Attorney Howard compared the killings to a terrible disease that ravaged for two weeks in one particular spot and he said that spot was the Williams farm. Taking up the ingredient "time," he said it was clearly established in the testimony of Federal Agent Brown that Brown visited the farm on Friday, February 18. It was also established that the first man was killed on the first Thursday after this Friday, which was February 24. The last man was Fletcher Smith, who was killed March 8.

"We see, then, that all these men were killed within twelve days and when this pestilence and scourge swept over that farm it destroyed everything not immune to it," he said.

Williams Follows Speech Closely.

Williams sat and fanned himself and followed eagerly every sentence of the speech of the prosecuting attorney. Mrs. Williams sat with her husband and listened calmly to the graphic story of the killing of the eleven negroes reviewed before the jury.

"Even before this horrible series of killings began federal agents were investigating a murder on Williams' farm," said Mr. Howard. "One of the men killed was a negro named 'Blackstrap,' who was killed, according to testimony in this case, in the presence of Williams himself. When federal agents charged them with these killings, Williams and his boys denied two of them and admitted they killed one in self-defense."

Mr. Howard then produced a stenographic report of Williams' statement to the jury Thursday and read excerpts from it. He read about Williams saying if he had wanted to leave he could have left before the grand jury got him.

"Did that have anything to do with the fact that Williams' three sons left this county immediately after the federal agents had visited the farm?" he asked.

He then declared the killing of the negroes began immediately after the three boys left and continued until "every chain gang negro on the place was destroyed."

Ridicules Theory Of the Defense.

Mr. Howard ridiculed the attempt to make it appear that Clyde Manning had done the killing himself.

"Where was the interest? Who leased the prisoners? Who ran the farm? Who got the negroes out of the stockades? Was it Clyde Manning? No, it was not Clyde Manning. It was John Williams," he said.

"Hit him and be sure you get him," was John Williams slogan with the motive of murder in his heart, the attorney declared.

"Hit him and be sure you get him," was his message flashed to Clyde Manning in these murders, he charged.

"Clyde Manning told the truth about this thing. The men were found dead down there on Williams' farm, weren't they? The men were found in the river where he said they were thrown, weren't they? What if Clyde Manning did tell it, the men are dead, aren't they? The biggest liar in the world can tell the truth. A liar can say that the sun sets in the west and it's the truth, even if a liar does say it," Colonel Howard told the jury.

Mr. Howard rounded out the first hour of his speech at 10:20 o'clock by dramatically picturing the scheme in Williams' mind through which he expected to destroy the negroes and thus forever silence all evidence against him and his sons for peonage and previous murders on the Williams place.

Diabolical Plot Hatched on Farm.

He took up the murders one by one and wove them together and explained his opinion that the killings were a "diabolical murder plot" hatched by Williams himself and carried out by him and by Clyde Manning acting under his orders. He pointed out corroborative features of Clyde Manning's story found in the testimony of Clyde Freeman, Lessie Benton and Rena Manning, Clyde Manning's wife.

He discussed Williams' statement that he offered to take Willie Preston, Lindsey Peterson and Harry Price to the train the night of the murder.

"Do you think Williams told these negroes to come down to his place, eat their supper and then get ready because he was going to take them down to the Yellow river to drown them? Do you think they would have gone? Certainly not. He had to hold out something to them in a friendly fashion to lure them to that river so he could kill them," he declared.

Mr. Howard slowly but surely built up a strong and powerful case against Williams. He tore down Williams' own statement, piece by piece, called it impossible.

It Laws to Accused Man.

"What is there about Williams that the laws of Georgia won't fit?" asked Mr. Howard. "Why can't you fit the laws of Georgia to Williams? What is to prevent you from fitting the laws of evidence to Williams? What is the difference between Williams and any other man in the eyes of the law?"

Jasper county killings at the proper time. Could the man live who knew nothing of the Yellow river killing, yet can explain the pasture murders? No, gentlemen, the man who can explain the pasture murders knows all about the Yellow river murders. That man is John Williams," he declared.

Summing up his argument, Mr. Howard made a powerful plea for a conviction without recommendation. He said the priceless legacy of the laws must be preserved.

Big Crowd Held In Deep Silence.

A recess of ten minutes followed the close of the address which the crowd, filling every available inch of standing room heard in deep silence.

There was no whispered conversation, no shifting of feet or murmur of approval or disapproval as the state hurled its final charges, to evoke even a formal rap for order.

Mr. Johnson started the final argument as soon as the recess was up, outlining in a quiet tone of voice what he proposed to do in his address.

Mr. Johnson praised the address of Howard, and added "as for my friend, Mr. Brand, the distinguished solicitor-general, just between me and you gentlemen of the jury,

(From over)

Confidentially I can't escape the conviction that Mr. Brand has not got a square deal.

"Just beginning his term of office and having worked up his first big case, he was about to reap the reward of his labor and had visions possibly of honors from it—of the governorship even—when this Atlanta crowd got busy and sent these distinguished men to take his place."

Referring to Howard having conducted the examination of witnesses and having made the closing speech, he declared the former congressman did not appear as did the solicitor-general or the assistant attorney-general, doing their duty as sworn officers of the state, but as the paid attorney of "private prosecutors."

Atlanta Clean-Up Suggested by Lawyer.

The "men who guaranteed the fund to pay Howard had the right to do so, he said, and added they had the right to hire another lawyer to uphold "this splendid character—Clyde Manning."

"I would suggest, however, they might well clean-up their own house first."

Referring to the Atlanta race riot of 1906, he said no one hired lawyers to punish the slayers "of more than 100 unfortunate negroes."

Mr. Johnson then made a plea that Williams, for whom he had sought a postponement of trial, had not been given sufficient time to prepare his defense. He asked the jury to remember this when it retired, especially when you run up against suspicious facts and circumstances unexplained."

Johnson referred to the testimony of Manning as that of a "confessed liar and an admitted murderer" who on his own admission "knocked a nigger in the head as he would an ox."

Scientists and travelers know, he said, that in Africa there are peaceable tribes and fierce tribes, even cannibals among the negroes.

Manning's Ancestors Cannibals, He Says.

"I am willing to venture that way back there Clyde Manning's ancestors were cannibals," Johnson declared.

Manning's motive for the killings, he said, was due to his ignorance and the fact that in "his disturbed and cunning brain, this man (pointing to a federal agent) had sown the seeds of fear."

Manning, the attorney said, had been told "he was as guilty as Williams, and did not have education enough to know better."

Reference to Manning having termed the department of justice agents "United States protectors" caused the first act on the part of spectators during the day that necessitated a rap for order. It was a spontaneous laugh that subsided at once.

If the eleven negroes had been killed over a period of twelve days, as Manning said, some of them would have got wise of the reason for the killings and would have fled like rats from a sinking ship."

"And remember, too," he continued, "none of Manning's family were touched. Remember that."

Court recessed for lunch before Johnson completed his argument.

Tremendous Crowd At Afternoon Session.

An even larger crowd thronged the courthouse when Judge Hutcheson convened court after the morning session. On reaching his seat with much difficulty, the judge gave the deputies instructions to attempt to make more arrangements for the spectators.

The atmosphere was close and sultry. Mr. Johnson asked the judge

to have the windows cleared so that the room might be ventilated. The request was granted. The judge then warned the spectators that any demonstration would result in such persons being ejected from the room and liable to contempt of court.

"Let the jury come in," it was ordered.

The twelve men filed from the ante-chamber with slow steps. None appeared fatigued from the long, unbroken morning session. Mr. Johnson arose at 2 o'clock to resume his argument. He spent the first few minutes in reviewing his previous remarks, ridiculing the motive advanced by the state that Williams killed the eleven negroes to destroy evidences of peonage charges against him.

"According to the testimony of Manning, he committed the crimes and he says that he acted under Williams' instructions," the speaker declared. "It is unreasonable to believe that any man would kill eleven negroes when it had not even been established that he was guilty of peonage. No sensible man would commit such crimes. No one but a pluperfect fool would be guilty of such."

State Rests All

On Negro Manning.

"The whole case of the state built up against Williams is on the testimony of Manning," he continued. "Standing without this the state is helpless and you know as well as I that the negro's evidence has not been corroborated."

"According to the negro's confession he and Williams killed the blacks, but so far no direct evidence has been presented by the state that the defendant participated in the crimes. The able assistant attorney-general declared yesterday that the finger of suspicion was sufficient to convict."

Shaking his hand in the face of circumstantial evidence, he introduced and an accomplice's testimony corroborated. The statements of Manning cannot stand alone and bring the conviction of Williams, according to the law. The fact that bodies were found, the fact that the crimes were committed are not sufficient to convict. They do not show that Williams was connected with the killings."

"Because Manning identified the bodies does not support the charges against the defendant," he asserted. "It cannot be shown that Williams was connected with the murders because the negroes drove the hogs to Williams' farm."

"The only testimony that tends to convict Williams—it does not even go to that extent—was that of Rena Manning, Clyde's wife."

Wonderful Feat Of Hearing Recited.

"She told you a remarkable tale of a wonderful feat of hearing," the attorney was smiling and leaning over the jurors, shaking his hands at those on the second row.

"The gentleman before me characterized it as a natural attribute of the negro, but to me it is the most ridiculous piece of the states case."

"Where, oh, where is the states chain of connecting evidence?" he asked, laughing in the face of Solicitor Brand.

"You must have confidence in Manning's testimony to believe him. That's the foundation of the law. Would you believe him on any other issue in life? Would you be afraid to meet him in the dark?"

"Ponder these questions," Manning admits to you that he has lied. He gets on the stand before you and tells that he lied to Brown about the Chapman case. My friend King said he was a coached witness, and I say that's true. Mr. Williams says the federal agents trung him up in jail and made him

involve him. I say that is true. "So carefully was he schooled," declared the speaker. "the United States protectors stayed in the courtroom before the witness stand to bolster him up as he told his story. Ah, they can make anybody lie."

Deliberate Lie Put in His Mouth.

Referring to Manning's statement, Mr. Johnson declared that the negro's story that Williams told him "It's your neck or theirs," when he was told to kill the employees, was a deliberate lie and "was put in his mouth." Williams gave no such order, he stated, and added that it was only a part of a "frame-up."

"The people of Atlanta seem to think that Manning is such an abused citizen, they have employed eminent counsel to represent him," he said.

Solicitor Brand objected to the speaker referring to who employed E. Marvin Underwood to defend Manning, on the ground that no evidence to this effect had been submitted during the trial. Mr. Johnson declared that Manning, in his own statement, said that he had counsel and that "they" employed him.

The objection was conceded by the state.

"Will you hang this white man on this negro's testimony? What will become of the negro?" the speaker asked.

"You know as well as I do that this negro will not be sentenced to die on the gallows. You know that he will probably be set free."

"Suppose you consider this picture while we are on the subject. If you sentence Williams to hang, while his body lies moldering in the grave, Manning will be walking scott free. What if you were to meet the negro on the road? Would you not look into his face and think what a tragic mistake you have made in hanging Williams on his evidence?"

Mrs. Williams Breaks Into Tears.

Perspiration was dripping from the speaker's face as he reached the heights of his address. Tears were flowing from the eye of Mrs. Williams, one of the defendant's little girls was sobbing, with her head on the table.

Pointing to the child, Mr. Johnson continued: "Yes, suppose you walked on and met this child, whose life you had blighted. Would you not carry a burdened conscience to your grave? I ask, can you convict this man on that worthless negro's testimony? I don't have to remember, before you do anything today or tonight that you will be called to the bar of a higher justice, and your only plea will be that of mercy. Remember his man's children and his waiting wife."

Williams' eyes were moist. A tear rolled down his face, but he was motionless. His eyes were fixed on his attorney's face.

As Mr. Johnson completed his argument and the jury retired to an ante-chamber, more than a hundred people congratulated him. Williams placed one hand on his shoulder and thanked him. Several other members grasped his hands, and Dr. Gus Williams brought him a glass of water. The attorney's conclusion brought to an end two of the most forceful and eloquent legal addresses ever heard in Newton county, according to the unanimous opinion of a number of lawyers attending the trial.

Judge Charges Jury Briefly.

At 3:40 p. m. the jury re-entered and Judge Hutcheson immediately began charging the jury. The chief points of the charge were on mur-

der, reasonable and unreasonable doubt, corroboration, the defendant's statement, alibi, felony, and the action of an accomplice.

It was stated that if the jury reached the conclusion that the accomplice acted under fear of death the full laws on corroboration would not apply. If the jury believed beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant committed the murder with Manning, it was instructed to return a verdict of guilty. This verdict might have a recommendation of mercy attached to it, the judge stated. Should there be any doubt, the jury was instructed to return a verdict of not guilty.

Mr. Howard returned to his home in Augusta yesterday afternoon. Just before he left he announced that he would not be connected with the prosecution of murder charges against Williams in Jasper county. The former congressman ridiculed a report that he had completely collapsed after completing his closing address. "I felt faint and had to get some fresh air," he said. "I am feeling all right now."

WILLIAMS BOYS STILL AT LIBERTY

Greene F. Johnson, Counsel for Father, States He Believes That They Have Left State.

Constitution 4/16/21

Declaring that they had received no reliable information concerning the reported surrender of Marvin, Huland and LeRoy Williams, sons of John S. Williams, both federal and Jasper county officials and Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel of the elder Williams, stated Friday night that in their opinion the boys have left the state and will not give up to authorities for trial on murder indictments.

In addition to these statements, W. H. Key, also counsel for John S. Williams, was in Atlanta Friday to secure the release of John Freeman, a former negro employee of the Williams plantation, and he declared that he had not seen the boys since the day their father was brought from the Newton county jail to the Fulton tower. Freeman, according to Mr. Key, desires to return to the farm, and the attorney was seeking his release for this purpose.

Campbell Has no News.

Solicitor Doyle Campbell stated that he knew nothing of published negotiations through which the boys are reported to be willing to surrender if the federal peonage charges are dismissed. Vincent Hughes, in charge of the Georgia bureau of investigation of the department of justice, declared that even if such negotiations were made, the government would not accept the alleged proposition.

Continuing his remarks, Solicitor

Campbell said that he did not know whether the Williams boys would be tried in Jasper county. The sentiment in Jasper is divided as to the change of venue, he said, and Judge J. B. Park will decide the question. The solicitor denied that he had received any authoritative information regarding the surrender of the fugitives and voiced the opinion that they were far from this state.

"If they haven't left Georgia, they have certainly had ample opportunity to do so," he said.

While he has not yet been employed as counsel for the Williams boys, Mr. Johnson stated that it was probable that he would represent them if they are brought to trial. He will hold a conference with the elder Williams at the Fulton tower one day next week.

"Just Begun to Fight."

"We've just begun to fight," he said, "and we will push our motion for a new trial."

During his conference with Attorney Key at the tower Friday afternoon, Williams was cheerful and for the first time since he has been held in jail, he greeted a newspaper man with a smile.

"No, I have nothing to say for publication," he laughed. "You newspaper fellows will have to see Greene Johnson. He has told me not to talk, and believe me I'm doing just as he says."

NEGRO WITNESSES AFRAID TO RETURN TO "MURDER FARM"

Constitution 4/21/21

An interesting story of how Claude Freeman, a former negro boss on the Williams' "murder farm," and Rufus Manning, an uncle of Clyde Manning, the black boss whose confession startled the whole country, and caused the conviction of John S. Williams, were called before Williams, Dr. Gus Williams and an attorney recently and when asked if they desired to return to the plantation answered affirmatively only later to plead with federal agents not to release them, was disclosed at the Fulton county Tower Wednesday night.

While they were before Williams and his son, the two negroes declared they were afraid to say they did not want to return, according to the story they are said to have told federal agents when they asked not to be released.

Williams and his attorney requested the jail officials to let them see the two negroes in addition to John Freeman, who is not a government witness and has given no testimony in the famous murder case.

The blacks were brought to one of the rooms on the first floor by an official who remained during the entire questioning, and after it was completed, John Freeman, who said he desired to return, was released. He is now said to be on the farm.

Negroes are still besieging Governor Hugh M. Dorsey at the state capitol, coming there from various sections of Georgia with claims that they are being held in peonage. Most of the cases, it is said, are found not to be meritorious, but all are referred to the department of justice as the state has no jurisdiction over such violations.

PLANTER'S TRIAL NEAR FOR MURDER OF ELEVEN BLACKS

All Georgia, Whites and Negroes
Alike, Stirred as Never Be-
fore by the Tragedy.

IT WILL BE AN EXPOSITION
OF WHOLE RACE QUESTION.
APRIL 3, 1921
Outstanding Figures at Trial
Will Be John S. Williams and
the Negro Clyde Manning.

By Rowland Thomas.
(Staff Correspondent of The World.)
COVINGTON, Ga., April 2.—With
the trial of John S. Williams, wealthy
farmer, for the alleged murder of
eleven negro farm hands set to begin
in the court house here next Tuesday,
before Judge John B. Hutcheson and
a jury of Newton County cotton
planters and storekeepers, the stage
is finally set for the great act of as
dramatic a legal battle as has ever
occurred, or could occur, in the
South.

A white man is to fight for his life,
before a jury of his peers, for the death
of negroes whom he is also al-
leged to have held in the semi-
slavery called "peonage." And the
twelve white men who will pronounce
him innocent or guilty will base their
finding mostly on the evidence of a
black man—Clyde Manning, the
negro whose confession led to the
discovery of the bodies of Williams's
alleged victims.

If the jury finds him guilty it will
probably be the first case on record
in the South where a white man has
been convicted of a capital crime on
negro evidence, as well as one of the
few instances where a white man's
life has been put in legal jeopardy
for killing a negro.

Involves Whole Race Question.
Not only John Williams, but also
the white citizenry of Newton County,
of the State of Georgia, of the whole
South, is therefore in a way brought
to the bar of Southern white justice.
form its opinion of the sense of jus-
tice of the South.

Color Should Not Count.
Such a view I have gathered re-
peatedly from Newton County men
of all sorts and conditions as I
moved among them during the last
few days. Going side by side with it
I have found the universal determi-
nation that color shall not count, and
that John Williams is guilty of the
crimes for which their Grand Jury
indicted him a week ago last Friday.
Then John Williams, white man
though he is, wealthy and influen-
tial must be punished.

How comes it that so many white
men, bred from the cradle to assume
that their race is a caste apart, to be
kept supreme over the black race at
any cost whatsoever, should feel so
against another white man against
whom the only possible eyewitness
is a negro, Clyde Manning?

It is mainly because practically
every white family in Newton County
was represented by kin, neighbors or
acquaintances, either on the Grand
Jury which, a week ago Friday, in
the Court House here in Covington,
listened to the confession of Clyde
Manning, or on the Sheriff's posse
which on Saturday and Sunday,
armed with authority by Judge John
B. Hutcheson of their Circuit Court,
crossed over into Jasper County with
Manning and under his guidance dug
five bodies from the cornfields on
Williams's farms and dredged three
more from the opaque water of the
Alcovy River, some eight miles away.

That confession of Manning's was
so startling that the men who heard
it first found it impossible to believe.
He said that for fifteen years he had
lived on the Williams farm, where,
he asserted, a number of negroes
"bought out" from the city prisons
of Macon and Atlanta had been kept
in peonage by "Mister Johnny," as he
called his employer and master. And
then he described how he had killed
four of those negroes and helped to
drown six more, acting in each in-
stance, he asserted, under "Mister
Johnny's" orders and in fear of death
if he disobeyed.

"I knocked four negroes in the
head with an axe in one week," he
declared to the Grand Jury, "and
buried them in a pasture back of
Mister Johnny's house. Why did I
do it? Because the boss wanted to
get rid of them negroes, and I knew
that if I didn't make 'em disappear
he'd kill me."

Peonage (Ga.) Williams' Farm.

"Charlie Chisholm, another one of
Mister Johnny's trusty negroes, put
in a little work—he killed one sus-
picious negro by braining him with
an axe. Then Mr. Williams got un-
easy about Chisholm and made me
get him. Me and Mr. Williams took
him to the river one night and pitched
him off the bridge, after we weighted
him down. Charlie begged hard, but
Mr. Williams said: 'Let's throw him
over and have it done with.'"

"I don't know how many negroes
there are in the river, but I helped
Mr. Williams to drown six, including
Charlie Chisholm. We took the other
five to the river at night, after get-
ting them out of their houses, and
chained 'em down with rocks. They
all wanted to go, so he said he
threw 'em in. Yes, sir, they all cried
and begged. Some of 'em asked to be
knocked in the head before being
thrown in. But Mr. Williams wouldn't
do it, and wouldn't let me do it. We
just threw them off the bridge and
rode on back to the plantation."

"You Must Kill Them."
Thus Manning accounted for the
men he said had been drowned. Con-
cerning the five others, he said:
"Mr. Johnny called me up to his
house after them detectives (Federal
agents investigating rumors of peon-
age) had left, and he said to me:
'Clyde, it won't do to let all of those
niggers get back to Atlanta. They
know too much on me and would send
me to the chain gang. You must
kill 'em.'"

"I thought about it and I knew
he would kill me if I didn't do it, so
when Mister Johnny took Johnny
Williams (a negro of the same name
as his) and me down into the pas-
ture and he told me to kill Johnny,
just did it because I knew I had to
do it. The next day was Sunday and
Mr. Williams sent Johnny Green and
Willie Givens down in the pasture to
fix the fence. Then Mr. Williams and
me and Charlie Chisholm went down
in the pasture too, and Mr. Williams
gave me the axe and told me to kill
them. Charlie walked off with Willie
so Willie wouldn't see me kill Johnny.
After I had killed Johnny, Charlie and
Willie came back, and I killed Willie.

We left them on the ground and
came back that Sunday night and
buried them."

"One day Mr. Johnny came to me
and Charlie Chisholm and told us to
go take 'Big John' over on the Camp-
bell place and dig a well. He told us
when the well was deep enough to
kill 'Big John.'"

"When we got the well about waist
deep Mr. Johnny came up to me with
the axe in his hand. Charlie Chisholm
was in the hole and Mr. Johnny told
him to get out and let 'Big John' dig
some. Just as soon as 'Big John' got
into the hole Mr. Johnny handed
Charlie Chisholm the axe and told
him to hit 'Big John.'"

"Charlie hit him and 'Big John'
just fell over in the hole. Then Mr.
Johnny told us to cover him up in a
hurry."

"Fletcher Smith was killed by Mr.
Johnny on the top of a high hill on
the Campbell farm. He had told me
he was going to kill him and sent
me off to get the axe. As I was com-
ing back I heard a gun and when I
got there Fletcher was dead. He had
been shot with a shotgun. Mr. Johnny

and me buried him there."
"Of course, Mister. I'm sorry I
knocked all them boys in the head
and helped Mr. Johnny do away with
them others. But the boss told me if
I didn't do as he said I would be the
next dead negro round there, and I
have always been mighty afraid of Mr.
Johnny."

"He Threw Them In."
"About them negroes, John Brown,
'Little Bit,' Harry Price, Lindsay
Peterson, Willie Preston and Charlie
Chisholm, that were put in the pond
(pond is the local name for the waters
of the Alcovy and Yellow Rivers
backed up by the big Macon Dam).
Mr. Johnny asked all of them except
Charlie if they wanted to go home.
They all wanted to go, so he said he
threw 'em in. Yes, sir, they all cried
and begged to be thrown in. He would take them
one or two at a time down to the
river (distance of eight miles in one
do it, and wouldn't let me do it. We
case and twelve in the other) and
throw them in."

"As soon as we would get within
two or three miles of the river Mr.
Johnny would tell them he was going
to kill them and would then tie them
up with the chains. They didn't a-
gree with him; all they did was
beg him not to do it. Harry Price
begged to be allowed to jump into the
river and Mr. Johnny let him do it.
He untied his legs so he could walk
and let him climb up on the bridge
railing and jump off. Mr. Johnny
then watched him float off down the
river until he went under for the last
time."

"Mr. Johnny went to Charlie Chis-
holm one afternoon and told him he
wanted him to go over to Covington
with us. When we got near the river
he told Charlie he had been talking
too much. 'I am going to throw you
in there with the rest of them,' he
said."

"Charley denied saying anything
about what we'd done, and begged
Mr. Williams not to throw him in.
But Mr. Johnny wouldn't listen to
him. He begged us to knock him in
the head, but Mr. Williams wouldn't
do it."

"I have worked for Mr. Johnny
thirteen years and he has whipped
me lots of times. He has whipped
most all the negroes that worked for
him."

The discovery of eight bodies just
where Manning had said they would
be found, seems to have settled the
public opinion of Newton County
once for all. They believe that Man-
ning in his confession implicating
Williams told the whole truth and
nothing but the truth.

Want Williams Punished.

They want him punished more
than they want the negro, Manning,
punished. There is even sentiment
expressed that it wouldn't be fair or
just to let Manning "get his neck
broken," because he is only a negro,
and was driven to do what he did
through fear, by a white man. It
is probable that they would be con-
tented to see him get off with a com-
paratively light term of imprison-
ment. But toward John Williams
there is perceptible no stirring of
sympathy, even though it is every-
where conceded that all this is
"mighty hard on his family."

For this strong hostility two ele-
ments are probably accountable. In
the first place, Williams is felt to
have broken the decent white man's
code toward the negro—that very code

which has often been censured out-
side the South as giving the negro no
chance. And in the second place, the
local pride of Newton County has
been deeply offended.

The code of the white man toward
the negro—as I have heard it again
and again interpreted by the solid,
quiet, thoughtful, self-respecting men
of completely American and Southern
ancestry who pass to and fro in the
streets here or gather around the
stoves in store or hotel or Sheriff's
office—boils down to the old concep-
tion that noblesse oblige, that caste
superiority implies a deep and unes-
capable obligation toward inferior
and defenseless people. White su-
premacy must continue in Georgia
till the end of time, as these men
see it.

For social or political recognition
the negro can never hope. But the
negro has full rights to protection
and justice and kindly treatment, and
the white man who does not volun-
tarily treat him so is not acting like
a white man.

Mr. Williams has retained as his
chief counsel Greene Johnson of
Monticello, County Seat of Jasper
County, who is reputed to be one of
the ablest lawyers in the State. Mr.
Johnson has declined to give any
statement to the press.

Save for one brief interview given
to a reporter for the Atlanta Con-
stitution on the afternoon he was
brought to Atlanta under indictment
to be held in the Fulton County
Tower, Williams himself has also re-
fused to be interviewed. In that one
statement he denied all charges
against him, imputing them to a plot
made against him by a neighboring
family in Jasper County, the Lever-
etts, with whom he was on bad terms.
The Leverett family, though admit-
ting the quarrel, immediately made
vigorous denial of the plot.

Family Is Inaccessible.

Mrs. Williams, the wife and mother,
has declined to meet any representa-
tives of the papers. She courteously
asked to be excused when I called at
her house on Wednesday, and the
three sons who live at home, Hulon,
Julius and Marvin, were inaccessible.

The eldest son, Dr. "Gus" Williams,
happened to be at the house that day
and after declining to talk did finally
give me the statement which has
already been printed in The World.
He vigorously denied his father's
guilt, explaining the departure of the
eleven dead negroes from the plan-
tation by saying that his father,
after the visit of the Federal agents,
had decided to have no bother and
had paid off and dismissed the men
and when questioned as to Manning's
story of the crimes gave the impres-
sion that he believed Manning was
trying to lay off the load of guilt
from his own shoulders and made up
his story out of whole cloth.

NEGROES CHAINED TOGETHER WERE THROWN INTO RIVER, WITNESS SWEARS AT TRIAL

Clyde Manning Tells How Unfortunates Were Slain on the Williams Plantations Where Eleven Men Were Killed After Peonage Investigation Began.

NEW YORK EVENING WORLD
APRIL 6, 1921

COVINGTON, Ga., April 6.—Two negro farm laborers, Lindsey Peterson and Willie Preston, were thrown into Yellow River, bound and chained to a hundred pounds of rock, according to testimony to-day of Clyde Manning, negro farm foreman, in the trial of John S. Williams, Jasper County plantation owner, for the murder of Peterson.

"The boys begged mighty hard, but Mr. John said throw them in the river, and me and Charley Chisholm pitched them over the bridge," said Manning.

Manning said the "boys" he and Chisholm drowned were Lindsey Peterson, Willie Preston at one place and Harry Price at another, all farm hands on Williams's plantation.

Chisholm later was killed to keep him from talking, it is alleged.

"Boss, I don't recollect the exact date," said Manning, "but it was on a Saturday night late in February or early in March.

"Peterson and Preston were chained together with wire around their hands and thrown in the Yellow River. They begged awfully hard but we had to throw them in the water. Price was drowned in the South River.

"Mr. Williams drove us to the river in his automobile. The three boys were killed the next week after Government agents had talked to us about peonage conditions."

Attorney W. M. Howard, special prosecutor, asked Manning where Price was when Peterson and Preston were being drowned.

"In the car—"

Here Greene F. Johnson, chief counsel for Williams, moved that the testimony regarding Price's death be stricken from the record.

The jury retired while the point was argued. Judge John B. Hutchinson, presiding, overruled the motion.

Manning was on the stand when court recessed for lunch. Williams again ate lunch with his family in a room in the court house to-day.

Resuming the stand after lunch, Manning continued his story.

"We took Price in the car to the South River, about a mile and a half away. He begged us not to throw him in the river, saying he would jump in himself.

"Price had a sack of rocks tied around his neck. I helped him climb on the bridge railing.

"He said, 'Lordy have mercy on nah soul,' as he jumped into the water. 'Mr. JJoh droce the car from Allen's Bridge to the South River.'"

Manning said Williams told the three negroes he was taking them to the station when they started on the 'deah ride.' Manning knew, he said, two or three days in advance, that the three negroes were to be killed.

"I told Mr. John I didn't want to kill them. He told me it was either my life or theirs. I knew he meant it. And I helped him kill them."

Manning was asked by Special Prosecutor Howard regarding the murder of eight other negroes on Williams' plantation.

Motions to exclude this testimony

by the defense were overruled by the court.

A negro named John Williams was put to death by Manning two or three days before Preston, Peterson and Price were drowned, the witness said.

"I knocked him in the head with an ax," said Manning quietly, without a tremor in his voice.

John Brown and another negro named "Little Bit" were drowned in the Ocmulgee River by Manning, Charley Chisholm and Williams, Manning said.

These two were tied together, he said.

"Big John," another negro, under pretext of digging a well, was forced to dig his own grave by Williams, Manning said.

"Charley Chisholm killed him while he was in the hole.

"I heard a hard blow on the head with an axe. He fell in the hole. Mr. John ordered us to pile the dirt back in the hole."

Johnny Green and Willie Gibbons were killed Sunday following the triple drowning, Manning said.

"I knocked them in the head with an ax," said Manning. "We covered them up and left their bodies there. Mr. John was with me when this was done."

Charlie Chisholm, who helped Williams and Manning kill Peterson, Preston, Price, Williams, Brown, "Little Bit," "Big John," Green and Gibbons, was killed later by Manning, the witness said, without a change in his even-toned voice.

"I knocked him in the head," said Manning.

Fletcher Smith was killed the week following the triple drowning.

"He was shot by Mr. Johnny. Mr. Johnny had sent me over the hill from where Smith was ploughing.

"But I heard the shot. When I returned Smith was dead. Mr. Johnny told me to dig a hole and cover the body up."

George W. Brown and A. J. Whisenant, the first two witnesses for the State said they found on the farm a house about thirty or forty feet long and twenty-five feet wide with wooden shutters that could be barred. Brown said there were bunks along the walls and evidences that cooking had been done in the house.

The two agents were investigating complaints of peonage.

"Williams told me he might have violated the peonage laws but that he did it unintentionally," Brown said.

Nation Denounces the Outrages Committed in Jasper and Newton Counties.

almost written that

nothing more horrifying has come out of the South of late than the wholesale murders of Negro peons on the farm of John Williams, the Jasper County, Georgia, farmer. but then we remembered some of the recent lynching horrors with all their fiendishness. It now appears that some eleven or more Negro slaves were killed by Williams and one Negro assistant, out of fear because charges of peonage had been made against Williams and Federal agents were investigating his plantation. What did it matter if there were eleven "niggers" less if Williams succeeded in hiding the traces of his wrong-doing? Well, against such a wholesale massacre we shall doubtless have some Southern protests. But no pulpit and no newspaper will, we fear, ring with denunciation of the semi-slavery throughout the South in which the rural Negro lives. If it were not for Federal interference the practice would go undisturbed. No Southern newspaper has yet begun a crusade against a slavery the like of which is not to be found in any other civilized State. When in Arkansas in 1919 there was an effort of some law-abiding Negroes to free themselves economically under guidance of a white attorney, they were immediately attacked by whites, and the report that a Negro rebellion was on was sent all over the country. There was an economic rebellion under way and the powers that were in Arkansas decided to stop it there. But it cannot be stopped.

Our American Negroes are among the most law-abiding people in the world, but they are fast being driven to desperation. The news from Jasper County will steel many a heart. It is unfortunately true that the doctrine of opposing force with force and violence with violence is making rapid headway among them North and South. Against this The Nation will use all the influence it may have among the colored people whose battles it began to fight with its first issue. But they know that in the South they are literally enslaved in State after State as or John Williams' plantation. No until the war exodus frightened them did the Louisiana and Mississippi planters' associations agree

to give their black tenants a yearly written accounting, and even now that cannot be had by hundreds of thousands who labor and labor and never get out of debt to their white masters. The case of John Williams should be a warning to the South. If it does not begin to put its house in order and to give economic justice and freedom to its colored citizens it will some day pay a terrible price. The white Czars once thought the Russian serfs would never rise. Twice now Were the Negro not the patient, long-suffering person he is, the South would be a shambles today. What other people would peacefully endure their exclusion from all courts save as criminals, their taxation without representation, and their being barred from every participation in government, and then stay quiet in the face of such hor-

NEW TRIAL DENIED

JOHN S. WILLIAMS

constitution 4/8/21

Following Judge John B. Hutchinson's denial of a new trial Saturday to John S. Williams, convicted owner of the Jasper county "murder farm," Greene F. Johnson, leading counsel for the defendant, appealed the case to the state supreme court, and the hearing has been set for June 3.

Immediately after receiving the briefs of the defense, Judge Hutchinson announced that he had made a careful study of the record of the case and could not grant the motion. He then conferred with Solicitor-General A. M. Brand, of the Stone Mountain circuit, and it was decided that Clyde Manning, negro "boss" on the Williams' plantation, will be placed on trial May 30 in Covington.

Manning's confession to the effect that he assisted Williams in killing eleven negroes on or near the plantation was largely responsible for the planter being found guilty at his trial in Newton county early in April. Williams is under a sentence to life imprisonment.

Twenty-six assignments of error were filed by the defendant, and of these, twenty-four were objections to all testimony as to identification of the slain negroes, which, it was contended, was extra judicial, and not under oath.

The main assignment of the defense, and admittedly the one on which the attorneys are basing their appeal to the supreme court, is that the court erred in admitting evidence tending to show that other crimes than charged in the indictment were committed.

It is also maintained that the judge erred in charging the jury on the question of whether Manning was an accomplice of Williams.

Mr. Johnson and W. H. Key appeared for Williams, while Congressman William M. Howard, of Augusta, and Solicitor-General A. M. Brand represented the state. Marvin Underwood will represent

rors as the burning of Henry Low ry, so graphically described by William Pickens in a recent issue of The Nation, and the wholesale murders in Jasper County?

Manning at his trial in Covington, and will maintain that the negro acted under fear of death in assisting Williams kill the negroes and, therefore, is not guilty of murder.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

Speech by Smith Defends Georgia In 'Peon' Scandal

Former Senator Protests
Defamation of Good Name

of State.
Constitution 6/19/21

Washington, June 18.—A protest against holding up the "peonage cases" as an indictment against the state of Georgia was voiced tonight by former Senator Hoke Smith, in an address before the Georgia society, of Washington.

"You know and should let it be known," he said, "that, with rare exceptions, the white people of Georgia are law-abiding citizens and treat negroes just and kindly, and that the wholesale tirade upon the subject of 'peonage' which has recently found its way into the press of the country is unwarranted and unjustifiable.

"Unfortunately in all the states there occur, now and then, crimes which shock the public sense, but this gives warrant to no one to indulge in general condemnation of that state."

The former senator said the public generally also should be informed that the negro who confessed to the murders on the Jasper county farm and the white man who was charged with directing the murders, had both been promptly convicted.

He explained in detail the so-called "peonage" system by which a white farmer might pay fines imposed on negroes and then require the latter to work for him until reimbursement had been made.

Declaring that he did not condone peonage, he pointed out that the practice permitted "the farmer to secure a needed laborer and the convicted criminal to escape the disgrace of working on the chain-gang." During his term as governor, Mr. Smith said, he did not hear of a single case of peonage.

"I would not for a moment have you do otherwise than condemn lawlessness wherever found," the speaker continued, "and our influence should always be given for equality of treatment in courts without regard to race."

"It should be said to the credit of the state of Georgia that, despite the opinion to the contrary, which is seemingly held by uninformed people throughout the country, very few cases, even of technical peonage, have been found in Georgia."

REPEAL AGITATED

OF "PEONAGE LAW"

BOSTON MASS C S MONITOR
JUNE 29, 1921

Georgia Legislature Expected to
Take Up Subject—Governor
Hardwick Calls the Dorsey
Allegations Unjustifiable

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ATLANTA, Georgia—On the Georgia statute books is a law which reads as follows:

"Sec. 715—Procuring money on contract for services fraudulently: If any person shall contract with another to perform for him services of any kind, with intent to procure money or other thing of value thereby, and not to perform the services contracted for, to the loss and damage of the hirer, or, after having so contracted, shall procure from the hirer money, or thing of value, with intent not to perform such services, to the loss and damage of the hirer, he shall be deemed a common cheat and swindler, and upon conviction shall be punished as for a misdemeanor."

"Sec. 171—Proof of intent to defraud: Satisfactory proof of the contract, the procuring thereon of money or other thing of value, the failure to perform the services so contracted for, or failure to return the money so advanced with interest thereon at the time said labor was to be performed, with good and sufficient cause, and loss or damage to the hirer, shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the intent referred to in the preceding paragraph."

Called Peonage Law

This is the law which people here and all over the country read and comment upon as modern peonage law in Georgia. This is the law that Gov. Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia in his famous pamphlet, "The Negro in Georgia," asked the people to have removed from the statute books. It is the farm contract measure under which many thousands of Negroes are employed in the farming sections of the state. It is a law which was invented to meet certain peonage investigations made in the state some eight or 10 years ago.

The framers of this law intended to protect the farmer who contracts under it from the federal peonage liabilities, but, it is claimed, it cannot serve that purpose. According to well-informed lawmakers—and the Georgia Legislature, by the way, has just started its annual session—it could not be used to nullify a federal statute—and it ought not to be used to deceive the farmer who employs Negroes.

Need of New Policy

"Since that is the case," said several lawmakers in discussing the subject, "men who know the dangers and have interest enough in their fellow citi-

Peonage (Ga.)

zens to act in their behalf should be serious and thoughtful about it. If this law is repealed (and the present Legislature is expected to go into the subject), then every farmer who employs labor ought to know that the next policy is to inaugurate a system on the farm which does not permit of the buying and selling of farm labor, does not tolerate a method of advancing money before it is earned."

Whether the law is repealed or not, lawmakers point out that probably in future those who own large farms and work considerable farm labor of the class which they now have will of necessity inaugurate such plans as prevail in other lines of business.

The belief is expressed by some lawmakers that this cannot be done without long and faithful study and careful management, but they assert that the farm can be operated without advance of money, or practically buying whole Negro families from other farmers where debt has been carelessly permitted to pile up.

Agricultural leaders here declare that when good farmers stop this practice the debt making will stop. When farmers, they say, demand a day's labor before they pay for it, the farm will go on a business basis like other business—the farm labor will live just as well and better.

"Wipe this law off the statute book, no matter whom it hits politically," is the way one lawmaker expressed it to a representative of The Christian Science Monitor. "This change is needed in Georgia worse than anything we know. We hope people will begin to see it and act wisely. The change will wipe out all danger of peonage and it will put more dependable labor on the farms than has been there since the days of slavery."

Governor Hardwick's Views

Governor Dorsey, whose pamphlet on "The Negro in Georgia" created nation-wide comment, has just retired from office and has been succeeded by Thomas W. Hardwick, former congressman and former United States Senator. In his inaugural address, Governor Hardwick referred to the peonage question and his views are opposed to those advanced by his predecessor. Following is a verbatim report of Governor Hardwick's statement on peonage:

"Georgia has recently been indicted, most unfortunately, and I think unjustly, in the forum of public opinion for mistreating the Negro, for peonage, and for other kindred crimes. It is a source of deep and real regret to me that this indictment comes from quarters that are both responsible and respectable, and it is for that reason present among them, but the indictment alone I feel impelled to say a few words in regard to it. There has been no year since the Negro was freed in which the farmers of this State have done more for the Negro than

they have done this year. No farmer in Georgia knows whether world conditions, when the cotton crop is marketed, will give him back 50 cents of each dollar he has put into the ground this year. Last year he did not do even that well, and yet the Georgia farmer bravely and manfully has gone energetically about his business and is now cultivating a crop to help clothe the world, a crop that may cost him twice as much as it brings on the market. He has taken care of the Negro, fed him, clothed him, sheltered him, and now in a year like this, when he has made every imaginable sacrifice to help the Negro, to be charged on high authority with holding the Negro in peonage is almost more than he can bear. Such a burden, at this particular time, above all others, should not have been imposed upon him. It is an outrageous, unjustified, and unjustifiable proceeding.

Georgia Conditions Defended

"There is no real basis, in truth and in fact, upon which the accusation can rest. I assert, measuring and weighing my words, that there is no state in this union, and no country in this world, having within its limits anything like an even division of its population between white and black races, in which the relations between the two races are more harmonious than right here in the State of Georgia. There is no state or country in the world in which a good, law-abiding, peaceable Negro can live with more security to his life, his property and his rights, than the State of Georgia."

"Georgia, of course, is not free from crime; throughout the world there is that seething unrest that always follows in the wake of a great war, but I believe and venture to assert that the increase in criminality, that is general throughout the world, is less in this State than it is in practically all of the others. We of course have our criminals, both white and black, but the percentage of crime directed by members of the white race against Negroes is exceedingly small."

"The indictment brought against the State is untrue, and it is a matter of deep regret to me that such a monstrous charge should have been circulated just at this juncture, so calculated to impair the friendly relations between the races in our State, and so calculated to prejudice the good name of the State of Georgia in other sections of the country."

Georgia has substantially 3,000,000 people; the usual and unescapable percentage of crime is unfortunately present among them, but the indictment of the whole State, and all of its people, for mistreating the black race is an unspeakable slander upon our State and her people; and to the indictment so preferred, in the name and in behalf of the State of Georgia, I

NEGRO MAKES CHARGE OF CRUEL TREATMENT

Constitution 6/19/21

The department of justice had under way Wednesday an investigation of a story related to local investigators Tuesday afternoon by David Green, a negro who, accompanied by his wife, went to the federal building and told of alleged cruel treatment at the hands of their landlord in Spalding county.

According to the negro, he and his wife moved to the farm of a well known farmer near Griffin last Christmas with the understanding that he was to make a crop on halves. He said that he and his wife have worked more for the farmer than they have on their own little crop, and had never received any compensation from him.

A few days ago the farmer tried to make him milk some cows, according to the negro, and began to curse him, and then hit him with a chair, breaking his arm. He was beaten into unconsciousness, he claimed, and then his wife was flogged.

When the landlord forced him to work in the field the next day with a broken arm, he and his wife decided to run away, and left there last Saturday night, he said. They walked all the way to Atlanta from Sunnyside, a small town in Spalding county. His arm was set at Grady hospital Wednesday. Because of the lack of attention given him, it may be necessary to amputate the arm, according to physicians.

ISSUES HABEAS CORPUS

WRIT IN NEGRO'S CASE

Atlanta Constitution 6/29/21

A writ of habeas corpus returnable next Saturday, was issued Monday afternoon by Federal Judge Samuel H. Sibley in compliance with the petition prepared and presented the court Monday morning by District Attorney Hooper Alexander, who instituted the proceedings for Dave Worthy, a negro youth, whom, he alleged, was in danger of being held in involuntary servitude, in violation of the constitution of the United States.

The district attorney's application for the writ was an extraordinary procedure, and was filed only after Mr. Alexander had given the case much thought and asked the advice of the attorney-general.

Worthy was formerly employed in Pike county by L. E. Millsaps. Recently the boy left Pike county and came to Atlanta. A few days ago he was arrested by the Atlanta police on a Pike county warrant sworn out by Millsaps, charging a misdemeanor.

The district attorney Monday expressed the belief that the warrant was obtained for the purpose of returning the youth to Pike county, where, he said, he will be forced to work for his former employer against his will. Instances have come to light where former farmhands and tenants were returned to the county of their former employer or landlord on a criminal warrant, and that the charges were then dropped, it is said.

Worthy is now at the police station. The writ directs Acting Chief of Police A. L. Poole to show in court Saturday by what authority he holds the prisoner.

Posses Protect Negroes; Orders of Gov. Dorsey Reports Received in Atlanta Sunday Indicate That No Trouble Was Brewing; U. S. Attorney Talks

(Associated Press)
ATLANTA, GA., Jan. 16.—Reports from half a dozen north Georgia counties where threats have been made recently against negroes indicated there was no further trouble Sunday.
In Hall and Gwinnett counties where attempts to drive out negro residents appear to have been widespread, Sheriff's posses have been formed for protection of negroes on direct orders from Governor Dorsey, and in Hall county Adjutant General J. Van Holt Nash is making an investigation on behalf of the governor.

Five negroes from Gwinnett county who appealed to the governor also visited United States District Attorney Alexander who issued a statement asserting that "the people of Georgia have no conception of the meanness and cruelty with which helpless negroes are being treated."

"I wish I could make the state see and know the horrible things that are being done and which come to my knowledge almost daily," Mr. Alexander added.

"In the name of a just and righteous God, I solemnly protest before the people of Georgia."

The district attorney said where federal laws had not been violated he could not interfere.

HART COUNTY NEGRO CONSENTS TO RETURN

Jesse Heard, 28, negro, who was arrested a few days ago on a warrant from Hart county, and who refused to accompany R. M. Wilson, deputy sheriff of Hart county, to Hartsville, consented to go to Hart county seat Thursday with Deputy Sheriff A. B. Brown, of that county.
Heard was arrested Tuesday by Officers Kirk and Williams. Wednesday Sheriff Wilson came to Atlanta for the prisoner, but the negro refused to go, stating he would be put to work on a farm if he was returned to Hart county.

WRIT IS DENIED NEGRO IN ALLEGED CASE OF PEONAGE

Ruling that the United States court had no jurisdiction unless it was shown that a question of actual peonage was involved, Judge Samuel H. Sibley Saturday morning refused to order the release of Dave Worthy, 16-year-old negro, who, it was alleged in an application for a writ of habeas corpus

filed by District Attorney Hooper Alexander, was about to be forced into involuntary servitude.

Mr. Alexander asserted in his petition that, in his belief, Worthy, who was arrested here last week on a Pike county warrant charging him with breaking a contract with L. E. Millsaps, his former employer, would probably be returned to Pike county on the warrant and then forced to work for Millsaps.

Assistant District Attorney John W. Henley attempted at the beginning of the hearing to have Judge Sibley declare illegal the warrant on which Worthy was being held by the Atlanta police. This the court refused to do, declaring that the legality of the warrants should be decided in the state courts.

PEONAGE CASES AGAINST FARMERS TO CLOSE TODAY

Charged with conspiring to commit peonage, R. A. Leach, R. A. Rivers, J. V. Biles and Alton Biles, farmers living in Spalding county, were placed on trial in federal court in Atlanta Tuesday afternoon. The case will be brought to a close Thursday morning, according to statements by John R. Cooper, of Macon, counsel for the defendants.

It is alleged that the farmers attempted to force a negro named Joe Jackson to work on a farm, and also it is charged, beat the father of the negro, in an alleged effort to secure his agreement to hiring the negro for work.

SPALDING COUNTY FARMERS FREED IN PEONAGE CASE

Charges of conspiracy to commit peonage, upon which four Spalding county farmers were brought to trial in federal court here Tuesday afternoon, were Thursday afternoon dismissed, according to statements by John R. Cooper, of Macon, attorney for the defendants.

The four farmers, Roy Leach, R. A. Rivers, Alton Biles and J. B. Biles, were charged with attempting to force a negro named Joe Jackson to perform farm work. It was also charged that the farmers had beaten the father of the negro in an attempt to secure his consent to the negro's working.

THREE CONVICTED IN PEONAGE CASE

Henry County Farmers Charged With Holding Negro Farm Hand in Servitude.
The first convictions for peonage by the government in this district in several years, occurred Friday, when three young white farmers and a negro, all of Henry county,

were found guilty of holding Jerry Ravin, negro farm hand, in involuntary servitude.

Erwin Morris, said to be the ring-leader, was fined \$500 and sentenced to the federal penitentiary for one year and a day. Hugh Morris, his brother, and Sam Gardner were given terms of four months in the Fulton Tower. The negro Brown was given two months.

Following the sentence, counsel for the convicted white men gave notice that they will take the fight to the circuit court of appeals on writs of error. Judge Sibley permitted the release of Erwin Morris under \$1,500 bond. Hugh Morris and Gardner were required to furnish \$500 bond each for their release.

Lu Everett and James E. Gwaltney, two other white men named in the indictment, were acquitted.

No other case of the present term of federal court has required as much time for trial as did the peonage case which ended Friday. The case was called Tuesday and the first witness, Jerry Ravin, the alleged peon, was heard.

The government charged that on the night of November 19, Erwin Morris, Sam Gardner and the negro Brown arrested Ravin in Clayton county and flogged and whipped him in an attempt to make him work for Morris. It is alleged that Ravin owed Erwin Morris \$75. Ravin was forced to work for Morris against his will, it is said. The defendants pleaded not guilty and vigorously fought the charges.

The jury recommended that the court show mercy to the defendants with the exception of Erwin Morris. When the verdict and recommendation was read, Mrs. Erwin Morris, who sat near her husband, collapsed and sobbed.

"I need not say that it always pains me to impose a sentence on a young man, as I have stated so repeatedly," the court said. "Crime among young men is getting so common that it alarms me greatly, indeed."

Judge Sibley stated that, in his opinion, the jury could not have done otherwise than to convict the four men. He said that he was satisfied that the negro had been the victim of a community action to force the negro to pay his debts.

The defendants were acquitted of a murder charge growing out of the peonage case several months ago in Clayton county. They were charged with shooting into a negro house and killing an aunt of the peon on the night of the illegal arrest of Ravin.

BEAT MAN, TAKE AWAY HIS WEALTH

Chicago Defender
11/26/21
Georgia Plantation Owners
Use Lash to Drive Out
Prosperous Farmer

(By Staff Correspondent)

Carlton, Ga., Nov. 25.—Jesse Willingham, a farmer of this place, was a tenant last year of D. Bush, a white plantation owner at Calhoun. Willingham owed Bush \$40 for which he gave a note. He later moved from Bush's plantation to that of Hamilton Abelhart.

Willingham made three bales of cotton and traded one to Marvin White in payment for a mule. Abelhart, angered by the prosperity of his tenant, bought the note Bush held against him for a slight discount. This was done in order to involve Willingham and force him to make illegal settlements by confiscating his products, the first method of the Georgia peonage system.

Starts Quarrel

Abelhart approached White, the purchaser, and asked that the cotton be turned over to him. White refused on the ground that the contract did not involve him, and he did business in good faith. Abelhart, armed with a hickory stick and revolver, called at Willingham's cabin. He ordered him to come out. The farmer obeyed.

The white man led Willingham to a barn on his plantation and ordered him to undress. Although without semblance of protection, and the Georgia laws made by white men and to be used for their benefit, Willingham refused to disrobe. The revolver was pushed far down his throat with trigger cocked, but he held his ground. Abelhart, declaring sudden death by pistol shot was too good for Willingham, called in John Paul, city marshal, to help administer a beating.

City Officer Helps

Paul, elected by the people's vote to preserve order, turned criminal himself, seized Willingham, and held him while Abelhart applied a cowhide to his body. Will Nix, who, according to public opinion, should have been in jail long ago, also took a hand in the whipping. After thrashing Willingham for half an hour, the men departed, locked the barn and set it afire. Willingham crawled through a large hole in the rear and escaped to the woods. He made his way to Atlanta and told his story. He has a wife and four children. Willingham fears they will be divided between the white farmers and held in peonage.

PEONAGE CONDITIONS DECLARED ALARMING

Commercial Appeal
U. S. Commissioner Will Investigate Following Protests.
Memphis Term

AUGUSTA, Ga., Dec. 12.—United States Commissioner C. J. Skinner, Jr., announced today that peonage conditions in Richmond and other counties in this federal district are "most alarming" and that he will recommend a federal investigation.

Two complainants, share croppers on Richmond County farms, visited the commissioner's office today and told stories of cruel treatment accorded by their respective landlords. The share croppers told the commissioner that the landlords abused them for the reason that they had endeavored to escape punishment by running away, taking a portion of their products and farm utensils with them. The commissioner is withholding the names of the complainants for the present.

One of the complainants was in such physical pain that he could hardly stand, alleging that his condition was due to treatment at the hands of his landlord.

The commissioner declared that a prominent Augusta woman, whose name he would not divulge, came to his office and related details of the manner in which a share cropper with a large family of children had sought refuge from his landlord at her home.

The "case of these two men are the most aggravated that have ever been brought to my attention," the commissioner stated, adding that the situation is "indeed alarming in this and adjoining counties."

The commissioner gave assurance that some action would be taken against the two landlords at once and that other cases in this territory would be rigidly investigated.

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

APRIL 2, 1921

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

Chicago, March 29.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—I read with interest the article appearing in your paper some time ago suggesting that Negroes go south during this period of unemployment.

I was also "amused" at an article appearing later by R. W. Olson under the heading of "Back to Sugar Cane and Cotton." Mr. Olson claims that the high war wages alone and not bad treatment of Negroes induced them north and that as soon as wages are reduced to pre-war scales Negroes will drift back to Dixie.

I have lived and traveled quite a bit in Dixie and know the conditions existing there from actual contact and direct observation. I am fully aware that in the labor field (in cities) in some respects the southern Negro has the advantage of the northern Negro, especially in the building trades, firemen, brakemen, and all railroad work; but what of the rural districts?

I know of a case where a Negro being unable to "pick cotton" was actually sold to the owner of a sawmill, said Negro being a good sawmill "hand." On many farms the Negroes are compelled to do a required amount of work each day. Failure to do so means a whipping at night. They have as overseers white men riding horseback through the fields with a Colt .45 or a Winchester at their side, and they must be "work getters" and keep their "farm hands" busy from "can't to can't" (sunrise to sunset). Something similar to slavery, or is it the real "stuff"?

Does the peonage case in Monticello, Ga., now being investigated, and eleven bodies of murdered Negro farm hands found so far coincide with this?

There are some fair minded and Christian whites in the south and I assume Mr. Olson happens to be one. I hope he will use his influence to better relations between the two races, thereby making our nation even stronger by having its 12,000,000 colored citizens better satisfied and feeling even more obligated to this country should we fight the Japs or any other nation or group of nations.

STARNES PEAK.

HOUSTON TEX POST

APRIL 18, 1921

Negro Labor in the South

The Georgia peonage and murder case is furnishing opportunity for the South-baiting newspapers in the North to indulge in an orgy of exaggeration of racial conditions in the Southern States. An attempt is being made to create the impression that such cases are common in this section, and doubtless many honest people in the North who are not familiar with the South or the relations existing between the white and black races will be urged on to indignation by these exaggerated reports and editorials which are without basis of fact.

It is the disposition of so many ill-informed Northern papers to "play up" such cases as this when they are occasionally found, which helps to perpetuate the sectional feeling in the North, and to keep alive the false ideas concerning the negro's general status. The South has long suffered from such unjust attacks, and since this sort of publicity seems to find a welcome among certain prejudiced elements in the North, it is not easy to say when relief will be found from misrepresentation.

But the people in the North who have been in the South themselves and who know of conditions here first hand will not be influenced by such propaganda. They know that peonage cases are a rarity in the South today, and that when they are discovered, they are invariably vigorously prosecuted. They know that the Southern people are just as bitterly opposed to such practices as are the Northern people, and just as eager to prevent them. One might as well infer that murder was common and condoned in the North because murders are committed there, as to believe that the South looks with more or less indifference on the enforced servitude of blacks.

If some of those who are shedding crocodile tears over the Southern negroes will come down and try to drive a bargain on wage matters with the average negro they will find they have indulged in grief for naught, for the Southern negro as a rule knows how to take care of himself. If he happens to be underpaid, it is more likely to be an accident, than a common occurrence. The negro's fool friends in the North are underestimating his intelligence and shrewdness when they grieve over his alleged injustices at the hands of white employers. The white man that "skins" a modern negro, especially a Texas negro, verges on the order of genius.

Occasionally, of course, an ignorant negro is taken advantage of by an unscrupulous white employer, just as other crimes occasionally occur. The millennium has not yet arrived in the South, but in matters of employment between whites and blacks it is just about as near in the South as it is in the North, where whites are almost exclusively involved in employment matters.

For the sake of the South's good name it is to be hoped that all the peonage cases in Georgia will be unearthed and prosecuted to the full limit of the law. The occasional cases in that State are doubtless an outgrowth of the old convict lease system, a system heartily to be condemned. Georgia owes it to the section in which it is a prominent part to stamp out the last vestige of this practice.

In the meantime, let the negro's sympathizers in the North found their sympathy more on facts, and instead of magnifying his alleged injustice in the South, devote their attention to helping the negro improve his material and educational status. Trust him to get along with his white neighbors satisfactorily in the matter of employment.

Peonage (General)

PEONAGE ILLUSIONS

Northern Misunderstanding of Relations Between the Negro and Southern Planter

NEW YORK CITY TIMES

MAY 29, 1921

BY JAMES C. YOUNG.

NEWS from the South in the last few weeks has caused almost universal misunderstanding of the relations between the Southern white man and the negro. They have been represented as the two extremes of tyrant and victim. A great deal has been said and written about the position of the negro, and nothing about the problem of the white man. As a matter of simple fact, both are sufferers from a false economic system. And it may be surprising to those who have followed the discussion to learn that the negro and the Southern white man understand each other very well. The negro problem principally exists on the northern side of the Mason and Dixon line. In the present difficulties of the South due to the cotton situation both negro and white man deserve sympathy. It may be wondered which of the two is the most in need of help.

Recently it has been proved by jury trial in open court that peonage existed on a Georgia farm, where the murder of several negroes took place in an effort to conceal the facts. The next hasty conclusion by a large part of the public mind pointed to a state of peonage on all farms, with potential murder as the penalty for not observing silence.

The dictionary defines peonage as the state of being a peon, and a peon as implying bondage or serfdom. It therefore should be enlightening to understand the plan on which the Southern farm is conducted, and to attempt a decision as to whether the negro or the white man is the real peon.

A typical small farm in Middle Georgia may be used as an example of the whole system. It will be owned by a farmer and his wife, usually with several children, and with one son old enough to be of labor value. Such a group ordinarily will have one family of negroes on their place. For the purposes of illustration let this family be said to consist of man and wife, with small children.

The farmer may employ the negro under one of several plans. That in ordinary usage is a stated monthly compensation, with a home rent free. At the present time this compensation will average \$30 a month for the man's labor, with his own board included. When

the wife serves as cook for the farmer she is paid for her services, earning about \$15 a month, and also receives her board. Such other work as she performs, or that of her children, is paid for by the farmer. In the cotton-picking season it is customary for all the members of a negro's family to work on neighboring farms, as the gathering of the staple proceeds, after the crop has been picked at home. The rate of pay is about 1 cent a pound. A hand can pick from 100 to 200 pounds a day, and their food is furnished when working away from home.

How the Plan Works.

To get at the bottom of this system, let it be assumed that the farmer makes arrangements with a negro family to enter his employ in October, after the crop has been made, and when the labor turnover usually takes place. The negro will move into the home provided by the farmer. He has little or nothing left from his previous year's work. It will not be many days until his needs demand attention. Then the farmer sends him to the store with an order for his requirements, such as clothing, perhaps a piece or two of furniture, and similar things, including foods not found on the farm. The negro's bill probably will consume all of his first month's pay. It is practically certain that he will not have any surplus owing him by the end of that month. He always spends ahead of his earnings, by the pressure of his necessities and a lack of capacity to adjust himself to his income.

This goes on throughout the Winter, with a small monthly balance piling up against the negro. By Summer it will amount to at least \$100, and by Fall to perhaps twice that much. The moment that the negro finds himself in debt he experiences the reaction of hopelessness common to all men in such a position. The farmer endeavors to restrict the negro's obligations in every possible way, but there always is the unexpected development, such as sickness, to create the balance which the negro cannot pay without difficulty and sacrifice, things against which his nature rebels. And the farmer cannot shut off his credit for fear of losing his hand. Should the negro leave, which happens in a large percentage of cases, the farmer has no redress except a civil action and the possibility of tying up the negro's in-

(over)

(From Over)

come from his next employer. This method is seldom practiced. The farmer endeavors to keep his loss down so far as possible, and accepts it when the negro departs because he can do no better.

It may be asked why the farmer does not pay the negro a stated monthly wage on a business basis, as followed in any industry. The farmer would be a very happy man to work upon such a plan. It is impossible. The negro is not thrifty by inclination. He lives for the day and lets the next one care for itself. This is a reflection of his really childish and often happy nature. It would be difficult to find a more care-free man than the negro field worker of the South.

Farmer Must Keep Labor.

The next objection of the economist probably would be that, all of this being true, the negro should be made to settle his own bills at the store. Once more that would make the farmer a happy man. But the negro is without credit responsibility and can only obtain supplies when the farmer "stands for" him.

Now that the negro's economic relations have been outlined, let the reader examine the farmer's problem. It may be broadly stated that, when his crop is made and his bills paid, he is in the same position as the negro. Leaving out of consideration the last ruinous year, and the three prosperous ones which preceded it, the average farmer of the kind described probably does not have more than \$100 when his cotton has been sold and obligations met.

He goes home and sits down to consider the matter. It is Nov. 1 and he has a new negro tenant whose needs are beginning to press. The farmer has no immediate means of raising money unless it is by the sale of wood, the slaughter of his hogs or, in some cases, a few beef cattle. He has no intermediate crop to which he can turn with the exception of oats, which are planted after the cotton is picked, the crop maturing before cotton planting time. But these oat crops are small, for home consumption. It also is necessary to "bed" the cotton fields for winter and the ground is "broken" several times before planting.

From November until March or April the farmer is without any fruitful occupation, a condition common to farms the world over. And during this time his needs multiply. The \$100 left from last season is soon spent. Then he has recourse to the store and the bank. To dwellers in a city like New York, where money is handled as merely so many counters, it is hard to comprehend the comparative scarcity of money in the rural sections. There the dollar still represents a sizable sum.

By Christmas, at least, the farmer will require money. In the State of New York the legal rate of interest is 6 per cent. on both contracts and bank loans. In Arkansas it is from 6 to 10 in both cases; Florida, 8 and 10 respectively; Georgia, 7 and 8; Oklahoma, 6 and 10; South Carolina, 7 and 8; Texas, 6 and 10 per cent.

Practically all loans to the Southern

farmer are made on the basis of crop maturity, falling due any time from Aug. 15 to Nov. 15, and usually by Oct. 15. When the farmer borrows money he does not get the full twelve months' time comprehended by the interest rate, but he pays for the full year. His loans seldom run more than eight months, and if such loans are made at 8 per cent. he in reality pays 12. Bankers avoid the statutes by making loans for a stated sum without specified interest, giving \$85 for a \$100 note, or \$100 for a \$110 or \$115 note. This is usury, of course. The farmer cannot help himself. If he complains his line of credit is stopped.

What the Planter Pays.

The banker not only gouges the farmer, but the storekeeper as well, who charges him interest on his running account both for his own needs and that of his negro tenants. When most Southern States have a legal contract interest rate of 8 or 10 per cent., it does not require much insight to see what the farmer really pays. Ten to 15 per cent. is the usual sum. If he rebels, his only help is another storekeeper, and storekeepers have a way of working together which is miraculous. The storekeeper and the banker often are the same man. The farmer is practically helpless. He pays—and pays.

When the cotton bolls have sprouted and begun to open, covering the red hills of Georgia with white of virgin purity, the farmer cannot enjoy the spectacle. He has to face the menace of the boll weevil, the insect which goes through a cotton field like a destroying blight. If this insect obtains a footing it is almost impossible to save the crop. It wipes out patches, fields, the growth in whole counties. The weevil gets into the cotton boll and can be found by the little dark specks where it burrows into the staple. The farmer who has paid a negro tenant all winter, "broken" his ground, bought fertilizer, and tilled the fields, often finds himself in July with crop ruined—desperation awaiting him.

Picking Crop Good Exercise.

But even the boll weevil does not destroy all of the South's crop. It grows sturdy, the bolls become larger and burst open, leaving the staple to be picked. This would be an excellent exercise for those who complain of having too little. It is merely necessary to string a bag in front of the picker and go down the rows with bent back under the late summer sun. One hundred to two hundred pounds is a day's work. Some pickers can double that amount.

Cotton is picked and piled high into wagons with boarded sides, somewhat like the hay wagons of the North. Then it goes to the gin, which consists of machinery too expensive for a farmer to own. The ginner takes his pay in a "toll" on the cotton, ranging from 5 to 10 per cent., and the farmer pays for metal ties and bagging to have it baled. Frequently the man who owns the gin also owns the store and the bank and sells the fertilizer.

After the baling process the farmer carries his cotton to town, and the buyer is the same man who owns the

gin and the bank and the store and the fertilizer. He pays the grower just a shade under the spot market, when the farmer in turn settles for all the things needed in his year's work.

What does he get for his cotton, and what does it mean in dollars and cents? On a two-plow farm, the production will average from ten to fourteen bales, weighing 500 pounds each, sometimes a few bales more and often less. Taking the top figure, fourteen bales mean 7,000 pounds. In 1914 the average price of cotton for the whole crop was 11.7 cents a pound, or approximately \$800 for 7,000 pounds. That may be accepted as a fair yearly earning for the ten years preceding on a two-plow farm. In 1915 the average price dropped to 6.6 a pound, cutting the return to about \$450. That brought ruin to the growers, and the "buy a bale" petition was the result. The next year, 1916, witnessed a return to the mean average of 11.4 cents a pound. The year following it went to 17.1, the best in a long while. In 1918 the average was 28.9, in 1919 it reached 28.7 and in 1920 was 25.9.

It might be assumed that these three years of high prices would have solved the farmers' problem, at least for the time. But they were compelled to pay proportionate or even higher average prices for the things needed. Mules advanced from \$100 a head to \$300, implements trebled and quadrupled. Despite these factors the Southern farmers enjoyed the best period in their history during that time. Many of them paid off old mortgages on their land, improved their homes and a thrifty percentage put themselves on a basis where they did not have to depend on the banker-storekeeper-fertilizer dealer-ginner and cotton buyer. Then the bubble burst and cotton is back to the 11-cent level.

When this last drop took place it found the farmer with a crop planted at the maximum cost, which he must sell at a minimum price. He had planted on a thirty-five cent basis and found himself confronted with an eleven cent market. The old story of ruin was repeated with new variations, and many of those States and Southern Georgia planters lost all or a large portion of what they had saved in the good years.

The relation between the negro in the South and the farmer, and that of the farmer and the man who finances him, is to a great extent feudal. It grew up out of the ruin of the Civil War and until it is corrected the men who till the ground—black or white—are in the grip of circumstances which they cannot control.

Hard to Change Methods.

Government farm loans have helped the Southern cotton planters to some extent, but they are hedged about by so many technicalities that the measure of relief is slight. The real salvation of the farmer lies in variegated crops. He has been slow to see the wisdom of this plan, and more particularly has lacked the means to see it through. He knows that cotton is money, and although it really figures out to almost nothing for his year's work, it still offers some small return on which he can depend. When he obtains only about \$800 for his two-plow crop, pays a negro tenant \$30

a month, buys his fertilizer, and undergoes other expenses, he does not have a net yearly income of more than \$100 or \$200. His corn, oats, hogs and miscellaneous items may raise that sum another \$100 or \$200, net.

In his relations with the negro, the southern farmer bears all of the responsibility and gets but the barest living in return. The negro leans upon him for every need of his life and lives almost as well as the farmer without any responsibility. There is a small percentage of negroes who show thrift and acquire a mule and a plow. They work part of a farmer's land on shares, ordinarily of half, and the farmer fortunate enough to have a good tenant of this kind considers himself blessed. The increased interest of a negro who has reached this point is of incalculable value in his work. Some of them also establish credit at the store and fund their own debts. The percentage still is very small, but the fact that there is such a percentage argues for improvement and better times ahead.

The last and most substantial class of negro farm worker owns his own ground and works it for himself. The number is growing and they are in every way as well off as the white farmer. The negro landowner and the negro who works on shares in almost every case is a man of some moral worth, respected and often assisted by his white neighbors. Such men as these are well beyond the "negro problem." And this problem has been greatly exaggerated. The mass of negroes in the south live easy lives and do not cause trouble. It is only the occasional bad character who breaks into the headlines. The percentage is not higher than among other races, and isolated clashes between negroes and white men are no more numerous than between men of any other races when thrown together.

Recent years in Middle Georgia have witnessed rapid extension of peach culture and many farmers who turned to orchards from cotton have become independent, some of them wealthy. Peanuts in Virginia, rice in South Carolina and Louisiana, sugar cane in both and the great majority of farmers continue to commit the old economic sin. The Southern farmer is a bad business man, and the pressure of immediate necessities has kept him from becoming a better one. He needs skilled help in teaching him how to vary his crops and in straightening out his financial tangles. Heretofore he has been merely a subject for prey. If the cotton crop were reduced by 25 per cent. and his other products increased 50 per cent., he would be one of the wealthiest planters in the world.

The negro in the South is not a peon. Generally he is a good-natured, easy-living individual who takes what the day sends and thinks about his troubles when he cannot escape them. The real economic slaves of the cotton field come from some of the oldest and purest American stock. They were better frontiersmen and pathfinders than makers of money.

DETROIT ATTORNEY CHARGES PEONAGE

Ill-Timed Advice Given by Former

United States District Attor-

ney to Negroes

6/28/21
Montgomery Advo.
(Associated Press)

DETROIT, June 28.—Charges that peonage exists in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi were made here tonight by U. S. Bratton, Detroit district attorney who formerly was a United States district attorney in the eastern district of Arkansas, in an address before the twelfth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Outrages are perpetrated against the negro designed to cower and intimidate him so that he can be kept in a condition of servitude and may be exploited," the speaker asserted.

The speaker advocated a federal act similar to the child labor law, as a remedy for the alleged conditions.

Other speakers who discussed "lynching and peonage" included Harry E. Davis, Cleveland, member of the Ohio House of Representatives, and Dr. I. Garland Penn of Cincinnati, secretary of the board of education for negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At the opening session of the conference today James Weldon Johnson, of New York, the organization's secretary, said the association had made lynching a national issue.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

N. Y. C. MAIL
MAY 10, 1921

Fined \$250 for Peonage

Jackson, Miss., Today.—W. D. Moore pleaded guilty in the Federal Court here to the charge of peonage and was fined \$250 by Judge E. H. Holmes. Moore, who formerly lived in the delta section of the state, was charged with having taken a negro from a plantation there to his home at McComb City, confining him in chains and forcing him to work out a debt.

ENTERS GUILTY PLEA ON PEONAGE CHARGE

const. 11/10/21
Jackson, Miss., May 9.—W. D. Moore pleaded guilty in federal court here today to the charge of peonage and was fined \$250 by Judge E. H. Holmes. Moore, who formerly lived in the delta section of the state, was charged with having taken a negro from a plantation there to his home at McComb City, confining him in chains and forcing him to work out a debt. This is the first conviction for peonage in the history of this court.

Mississippi (Peonage)

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

N. Y. C. POST

JUNE 1, 1921

Peonage Conditions Held to Be One of Riot Causes

National Association for Advance-
ment of Colored People Issues
Statement

Placing the race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, among the most appalling disorders of its kind that have occurred in the United States during the last few years, James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said to-day that conditions of peonage in that district of the country were probably one of the contributing causes. His office at 70 Fifth Avenue also gave out the reported casualty figures for other race riots.

Mr. Johnson said that the association has received many reports of negro peonage in Oklahoma, Texas, and other States near the Mississippi delta. He said that the Federal Government recently began investigation of several such cases in Texas.

A formal statement which he issued read as follows:

"From the meagre details which have reached us, the Tulsa riot seems to be one of the worst that has occurred in the United States in recent years. If it is true that the death list already totals seventy-five, the riot ranks with the one which occurred in East St. Louis.

"Casualty figures of the race riots are always approximate. White people often attempt to conceal the number of casualties for fear of the effect on colored people. Furthermore, many colored people are killed in race riots and in isolated fights and encounters whose deaths are not reported."

Oklahoma (Peonage)

Agriculture - 1921.

General (Peonage)

Labor Conditions
**MUCH PEONAGE
IN THE SOUTH**

N. Y. C. GLOBE

JUNE 28, 1921

Former U. S. Attorney of East-
ern Arkansas Tells of Ne-
groes' Bad Condition.

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

DETROIT, June 28.—U. S. Bratton, for twelve years United States attorney for the eastern district of Arkansas, said last night at a mass-meeting here of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that his own official as well as personal experience had taught him the practice of peonage, accompanied by brutal whipping, was general throughout the south. The condition of many of the Negroes in the South, he said, was worse now than before the civil war.

He himself, because he had attempted to represent Negro farm tenants in court, had been threatened with death, his son had narrowly escaped being murdered, and the entire family forced to leave Little Rock and seek a new home here. Mr. Bratton charged that the Arkansas riots of October, 1919, were provoked by white planters who had refused statements to the Negro tenants whose cotton they had taken and therefore did not want the cases to go to court. The tenants had been about to employ Bratton to represent them when the rioting began.

Mr. Bratton also charged that lynching and crimes of violence committed against Negroes were designed to terrorize them, so that they could be kept in subjection and exploited. He asserted that the white planters would stop at nothing, not only to prevent Negro farm tenants from seeking to obtain their right, but to prevent any one else acting for them. He urged a federal law, based on the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution, to meet the situation.

Mr. Bratton is now general counsel in Detroit for the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers.

Harry E. Davis, Negro member of the Ohio House of Representatives, presided over the meeting.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

EXPLOITED COLORED LABOR.

Another quarter of the globe where the exploiting of colored labor obtains was revealed in an article recently published in the London *Daily Herald*. This referred to the system of indentured black labor, as conducted under the Australian flag, which was pronounced "something akin to slave trading in its most vicious form."

John A. Brailsford, a writer in *Stead's Review* of Melbourne, was quoted as giving the revolting conditions under which this class of labor is secured and employed, as revealed in the minority report of a Royal commission. This type of human slavery existed, he says, last September, in German New Guinea, now administered by Australia.

Quoting the report, the writer said:

"A local planter gets a contract for the supply of laborers at, say, £6 per head, and engages a Chinaman, to whom he pays, £3 a head for all recruits brought in.

"The Chinaman, armed with a shotgun and attended by a few natives, possibly also armed, and assisted by a few carriers, proceeds inland, or to some convenient place on the coast, from which he sends his trained natives into the bush to obtain recruits, for a promised reward of, say, five or ten shillings.

"What may happen when the Chinaman sends out armed natives, selected by himself, to collect boys on the bonus system, can only be conjectured.

"In Papua, a plantation owner was found to be working his labourers seven days a week from 5:30 a. m. to 6 p. m. with one meagre meal a day. The lash was used constantly. Fierce dogs were kept.

"In New Guinea the indenture system permits the punishment of native laborers by the planters, by fines or imprisonment, with or without chains."

This could hardly be worse if the scene was laid in Georgia, on one of the farms where the peonage system prevails. This exploitation of colored and black labor in the interest of white capitalists prevails in various parts of Africa, South America, the United States, Hawaii, Haiti, and other sections of the globe. The English speaking nations are the most conspicuous offenders in this regard, though Germany, France and Portugal are not without guilt, while the Belgians and the Boers made their record atrocious in the Congo and South Africa.

Why There Is Peonage In The South

Judges In Court Practically Sell Prisoners To Farmer Who Enslave Them

from New York Times 4/6/21
(A. N. Corbett (white) in Washington, D. C. Star

I know peonage has been in vogue in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas for a score or more years, and that the people both practiced and approved of it, nor did they really know they were violating any law. They were not guilty of the heinous offenses charged to Williams and his sons, but they practiced the crime in some form or other in violation of the federal law. In these states larceny is made a crime, which, on conviction, carries the penalty of disfranchisement and incarceration in the penitentiary. The value of the article stolen does not matter. It may be an old shirt, a chicken, a hat, or horse and wagon. The law was made to find an excuse to disfranchise as many Negroes as possible, and if a boy of twelve was held for stealing even a melon he was never allowed the right of franchise.

On conviction of such light offenses as I have mentioned, the judge, feeling that the crime too trivial to merit a sentence of one year in the penitentiary (which was the lightest sentence which could be imposed) would inquire if there was a farmer present who would pay the costs of the court and take the culprit for a year, as that he would thus be free to mingle with his fellows at nights and on Sundays. Some farmer would come forward and the prisoner was sold and warned that if he tried to escape he would be forced to spend his days in the penitentiary. The culprit, of course, gladly accepted the offer and his relatives and friends were made happy with the thought that he had escaped the horrors of the penitentiary, which were depicted by the returned convicts, who told of cruel beatings for the most trivial offenses and the denial of all rights and privileges of human beings.

The vagrancy laws are instruments that send only colored men to peonage. No strange colored man is allowed to run at large more than ten days unless he has applied for a job, and it matters not how much money he has upon his person. In fact, if he has a good sum it militates against him, as he is sure to be suspected as a thief and get a longer sentence to bondage, and there is no chance of his paying a fine and escaping sentence. No white man is considered a vagrant if he remains idle for months or

Peonage (Gen.)

years, so that he refrains from committing any other offense.

Another cause of peonage is the landlord and tenant acts of that section and the fact that most of the farm laborers are croppers. This means that they work for a certain part of the crop, and not for wages. The landowner furnishes the horse-power, tools and other things needed and sees to it that the cropper is furnished provisions from his commissary or grocer of his selection. The price of supplies is exorbitant, so that at the end of the year the laborer finds himself in debt, even after he has received his share of the crop.

He finds he cannot leave his employer while in his debt, though he receives brutal treatment, and if he does his employer will post notices forbidden any one to harbor or hire said person, and in some instances will have him arrested and returned to the farm. Should the laborer die, his wife and children cannot move away until the debt is canceled, and in this manner many are held in bondage from year to year.

Agriculture - 1921.

Florida (Peonage)

Labor Conditions

THAT PURCHASABLE NEGRO VOTE

Christian Advocate
5/19/21
Somewhere in this broad land of ours, travelling "incognito" (speaking euphemously) is the Rev. Sidney J. Catts, former governor of Florida. Ex-Governor Catts is travelling thus because the newspapers say he "has been indicted for bribery" being charged with "corruptly receiving and accepting a gratuity of money" for the granting of pardons while Governor.

Now about this report, at least three observations are in order:

Firstly, *it is inconceivable* that a Governor of a great Southern Commonwealth would thus slip a cog in the ethics of his official conduct.

Secondly, *it is incredible* that a white gentleman of such high social status as the Governor could so little appreciate his high social eminence as to condescend to the level of accepting bribes.

Thirdly, *it is intolerable* that a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ should thus bring upon our common Christianity the condemnation and opprobrium of the unchristian world, already too skeptical.

We do not know that Governor Catts is guilty. We assume he is innocent until he is proven guilty. More, we hope he is not guilty of the charges. It may be a political 'frame-up.' Otherwise it is difficult to understand how such a charge could gain currency against a southern white gentleman and he the chief citizen of the commonwealth. Were it a Negro it would provoke but little comment. For in certain quarters his bribe taking is heralded as proverbial. This is the basis of his disfranchisement. It would be interesting to see the law applied here. Should the Governor be convicted of taking bribes, would he be disfranchised as in the class of the "venal vote of the ignorant Negro?"

Well, there is "so much bad in the best of us and so much good in the worst of us that it ill becomes any of us to talk about the rest of us."

Concerning this practice of bribe taking for influence or votes, our process of reasoning is simple and may be thus expressed.

Folks who take bribes for influence or votes are undesirable citizens.

Some Negroes receive bribes for votes or influence. Therefore

Some Negroes are undesirable citizens.

Some white folks receive bribes for votes or influence; Therefore

Some white folks are undesirable citizens.

In other words, "Folks is folks."

TRIAL OF CATTS

ON PEON CHARGE

FIRST ON DOCKET

Atlanta Constitution
Pensacola, Fla., November 7. (By the Associated Press.)—Many important cases were on the docket of the United States court when the fall session began today. 11/8/21

The case of Sidney J. Catts, former governor, indicted at the last term of court in connection with a charge of alleged peonage, heads the list. Mr. Catts is in the city awaiting the call of the case. The federal grand jury was organized today and Judge Sheppard, in his charge, referred to the practice of bands of men who adopt disguises in many cases of lawlessness, and touched on the subject of mobism.

There are to come up at this term of court many important cases besides the Catts alleged peonage case, among them the charges against Captain Mentcal, of the schooner Viola, for the alleged smuggling of Chinese into this country, and Chester Wing, Chinaman, charged with being connected with the alleged smuggling.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

Former Governor Catts Charged With Holding Negroes In Peonage

Indictment Alleges Ex-Florida Executive Pardoned Convicts and Forced Them to Work.

RECENTLY INDICTED FOR ACCEPTING BRIBE

Former Florida Executive's Residence Is Now Established in Atlanta. Center of Sensations.

Pensacola, Fla., May 18.—Sidney J. Catts, former governor of Florida, was indicted for peonage here late today by the federal grand jury.

The indictment charges that Catts after obtaining pardons for two negro convicts forced them to work on one of his farms in west Florida. The former governor recently was indicted by the Bradford county grand jury for accepting \$700 for a pardon for a prisoner serving a life term for murder.

Charges of peonage against former Governor Catts will be of particular interest in Atlanta in view of the fact that the former Florida executive established his residence here following the expiration of his term of office as governor.

POLICE SEEKING SIDNEY J. CATTS

Pensacola, Fla., May 19.—As a result of the indictment of Sidney J. Catts, former governor of Florida, by the federal grand jury here yes-

(Peonage) Florida

perjury in the deleterious effects it has upon the morale of the workers in any community. It is an invasion of the healthy relationships which should maintain as between labor and capital of a disease as foul as typhus and as insidious as malaria.

Years ago the leasing of convict labor became taboo in communities where the rights of honest labor are accorded their proper consideration. The practice survived, one way or another, in our backward South until definite statutory enactment by the federal Congress became a crying demand. Now we have a man charged with the crime who has been honored with election to the highest office in the gift of the people of Florida.

There is something wrong down South if such conditions pass uncondemned and with the offenders unpunished.

"The former Governor recently was indicted by the Bradford County Grand Jury for accepting \$700 for a pardon for a prisoner serving a life term for murder," says an Associated Press despatch from Pensacola.

Of what stuff are these Southern State officials made? Whence the selection? Where are the voters of the South, who have not one but two chances to scrutinize their candidates, once in a Statewide primary and again at the elections? Isn't it nearly time that Southern politics was disinfected?

Former Governor, Going Free on Bond in Albany, Unmolested Upon Reaching Jacksonville.

Constitution 5/22/21 DENIES HE FORCED BLACKS TO PEONAGE

Presence in Georgia City Betrayed by Laundry Mark — Scores Political Enemies.

Jacksonville, Fla., May 21.—Sidney J. Catts, former governor of Florida, arrested at Albany, Ga., today on a federal warrant charging peonage, and released in \$2,500 bond, arrived here shortly before 10 o'clock tonight.

No move was made towards arresting the former governor on an indictment returned in Bradford

county for alleged acceptance of a bribe, and he went immediately to the home of his brother-in-law in Riverside, a suburb.

CLOTHING CLERK TIPS OFF SHERIFF.

Albany, Ga., May 21.—(By the Associated Press.)—Former Governor Catts was arrested here this morning on telegraphic advice from the United States marshal at Pensacola that a capias for his arrest was held there, on an indictment in the northern United States district court of Florida charging peonage. The former governor was released on bond of \$2,500.

Ex-Governor Catts was arrested at the union passenger station as he was waiting to depart for Jacksonville. The arrest was made by Sheriff Tarver, of Dougherty county, and Chief of Police Lockett, of Albany.

The former governor's presence in Albany was discovered by a clerk in a clothing store where Mr. Catts had purchased a collar, it was stated by the sheriff. While the governor was changing collars, the clerk noticed the laundry mark, "S. J. C." in the old collar and guessed at the identity of his customer. The clerk "tipped off" the sheriff, who immediately telegraphed the United States marshal at Pensacola for advice.

Admits Identity.

Ex-Governor Catts made no attempt to conceal his identity when approached by the officers, but, on the contrary, acknowledged it immediately. The sheriff, after asking the chief of police to remain in the background because of his uniform, walked up to the ex-governor in the waiting room of the station and said:

"Is this Governor Catts?"

Without hesitation the ex-governor replied in the affirmative.

After his arrest Catts declined to talk to newspaper men, but in discussing with the officers the case of the negro whom he is alleged to have held in peonage, he said the negro had a good home and had been given \$10 a month and his board ever since he had been in his employ and was still receiving that amount.

Billy in Pocket.

As the officers were walking with Mr. Catts to the courthouse, the former governor put his right hand into his side pocket, and the sheriff seized his hand and stopped him. He was then searched and a short leather billy loaded with lead in the end, was found in his hip pocket. Asked about this, the ex-governor said he prized the billy very highly as it had been sent to him by Representative Frank Park, of the Second Georgia congressional district.

Mr. Catts appeared to be greatly stirred by his arrest. His voice trembled with emotion, and at times he seemed almost on the point of sobbing. He repeated, they said, that he knew no one in Albany, and had no way of making bond here.

He also kept repeating that his enemies would not let him alone. He said he had more than once signed negroes' bonds for as much as his, but it seemed when a man got into trouble every man's hand was against him.

Asks For Pastor.

Mr. Catts, who was formerly a Baptist minister, asked the sheriff to send for James Allen Smith, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist church, and this was done.

Mr. Catts arrived in Albany at 7 o'clock from Atlanta, and said he was planning to leave at 1:55 p. m. for Jacksonville. He did not state where he had been, and denied he was living in Atlanta, saying De Funiak Springs, Fla., was still his home.

Five Albany citizens signed the bond. Mr. Catts was assisted in securing bondsmen by Rev. Allen Smith, D. D., pastor of the First Baptist church of Albany and Rev. R. J. O'Bryant, pastor of the Byne Memorial Baptist church, the latter a personal friend of the former governor.

Before the federal bond had been signed, Sheriff Tarver received a telephone message from the attorney-general asking that Mr. Catts

be held for the state authorities after the federal bond was made. Sheriff Tarver asked the attorney-general to have Governor Hardie of Florida, send a telegram containing this request and stating the amount of bond. After a considerable wait the attorney-general was again called up and urged to hurry the telegram from Governor Hardie, but the attorney replied that he and the governor would hold lengthy conference first.

Charges Delay Attempt.

Mr. Catts insisted that the attorney-general was attempting to delay matters and harass him in every way possible, whereupon the sheriff informed the attorney-general that unless he received a message from the governor before 1:30 o'clock he would release Mr. Catts who wanted to leave for Jacksonville at 1:55 p. m. He declared that the last he had been persecuted.

Before leaving Mr. Catts informed his bondsmen he had been to British Columbia and did not learn of the indictments against him until he was en route home. When arrested he had in his possession a ticket from Cincinnati to Jacksonville and was waiting here for a connection.

FORMER GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA MAKES LARGE BOND SUNDAY

Sidney J. Catts, Former Provisional Governor of Florida, Furnishes Bond in Case Charging Misuse of Executive Power and Peonage

(over)

Case *Montgomery* *reverts*
 Me 5-23-21
 (Associated Press)

He left late today for Pensacola, where according to his attorneys, he plans to make formal bond of \$2,500 on a charge of peonage for which he was indicted May 18, and arrested yesterday at Albany, Georgia. He was released from custody at Albany after five citizens had signed his bond and permitted him to proceed on his way to Jacksonville.

It is believed that Mr. Catts will face the federal charge first, and reports from Pensacola were to the effect that a special session of court would be called for this purpose. Specifically, the federal indictment set forth that Mr. Catts voted for pardons in favor of two young negroes, Ed Brown and John Henry Rodgers, serving sentences in the state penitentiary and that representatives of the former governor met the negroes upon their release and took them to his Walton county farm where they were alleged to have been held in peonage.

One of the negroes testified at Tallahassee before the joint legislative committee, which under a joint resolution, is investigating "rumors that the former governor received money to influence his decision in matters of pardons, appointment of state officers and other alleged misconduct." The committee has been holding its hearings for several weeks and no indication is forthcoming as to when it will report its findings.

Both houses of the legislature now in biennial session have reinstated numerous officers relieved by the former governor. Approximately \$25,000 has been voted as reimbursement to the various men for the salaries they lost while under suspension. Mr. Catts' term of office expired January 3, last.

Atlanta Constitution
Ex-Governor of Florida
Furnishes \$5,000 for Liberty--Accused of Accepting Money on Vote.

Declines to Divulge His Whereabouts Since May 8—Goes to Starke, Fla., as Guest of Attorney.

He left late today for Pensacola, where, according to his attorneys, he plans to make formal bond of \$2,500 on a charge of peonage on which he was indicted May 18 and arrested yesterday at Albany, Ga. He was released from custody at Albany after five citizens had signed his bond and permitted him to proceed on his way to Jacksonville.

So far as known, Mr. Catts came here unaccompanied. During his stay he was the guest of his local attorney. He had spent last night at the home of his brother-in-law in Jacksonville and his attitude of silence regarding his indictment was changed here. Beyond the fact that he told his bondsmen in Albany, Ga., that he had been in British Columbia, nothing could be learned of his whereabouts since his indictment here May 8.

It is believed that Mr. Catts will face the federal charge first, and reports from Pensacola were to the effect that a special session of court

One of the negroes testified at Tallahassee before the joint legislative committee, which, under a joint resolution, is investigating "rumors" that the former governor received money to influence his decision in matters of pardons, appointment of state officers and other alleged misconduct. The committee has been holding its hearings for several weeks and no indication is forthcoming as to when it will report its findings.

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constitution
Pensacola, Fla., May 25/24
Sidney

J. Catts, former governor of Florida, appeared before a United States commissioner here today and made bond in the sum of \$2,500 to appear June 13 to enter a plea in connection with his indictment here by the federal grand jury for peonage. United States District Attorney McNeeley stated he would require one week to examine Catts' plea and that his trial probably would begin June 20.

Catts was arrested Saturday in Albany, Ga. He visited Starke Fla., yesterday, where he posted \$5,000 bond as a result of his indictment there several weeks ago by the Bradford county grand jury, which charged he had accepted \$700 while governor and chairman of the state board of pardons for his influence in obtaining a pardon for a man serving a life sentence for murder.

Pensacola, Fla., November 12.—
A charge of espionage was laid yesterday in a
grand indictment returned here last night
against Sidney J. Catts, former gov-
ernor of Florida, by the federal grand
jury at a special sitting, it was an-
nounced today.

Chicago
Ex-Gov. Catt Pictured as Slave
Holder; Caught Armed
5-28 in Georgia

Jacksonville, Fla., May 27.—About one year ago John R. Shillady, then secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, protested to Gov. Sidney J. Catts of the treatment meted out to the Race were receiving from members of Florida. Both are white men. One a Northerner; the other a Southerner. Catts' reply was of a violent and insulting character. He practically upheld the action of the mob and said the South knew "how to handle the Negro."

Arrested in Georgia
Last Saturday ex-Gov. Catta was arrested in Albany, Ga., a fugitive from justice. He had fled the state of Florida following the announcement that federal officials were searching for him. Catta is charged with peonage. A state and federal warrant was issued for his arrest according to reports here. He has also been indicted by the Bradford county grand jury for the alleged acceptance of \$700 from a life-tenor convict for his influence in obtaining pardon.

The conduct of ex-Gov. Catts, who before election was a Baptist minister, was investigated by a special legislative committee shortly before his term expired. John H. Bridges, sentenced for Osceola county murder May 6, 1909, pardoned December 19, 1920, told the committee that Catts held him in a state of peonage on his farm near De Foria Springs, Fla.

Convict Testifies

Rodgers, who is very intelligent, said that Catts brought him release papers to Camp No. 5, where he was working, and that the following day S. V. Townselle, superintendent of the governor's farm, took him to Funiak. Rodgers paid William Hodges, a Tallahassee pardon lawyer, so he states, \$50 for his services in getting the pardon. He showed a letter to prove this.

Rodgers claimed that Catts told him he should not have paid the lawyer anything, but that it should have gone to him, and since he did not get it, he would have to put in a year's time at work on Catts' farm and pay \$50 in addition. Rodgers said he received no wages while on the farm, but admitted that at one time Catts gave him \$1 and bought

[illegible]

PELHAM CONVENT
ON PIERAGE CIRCLE

**WHITE FLAMINGO HAS-
HED GETS SHOOTING
FOR FUR**

Pollock, 47, who was born in the United States, was strangled by another inmate while working in the kitchen for a trial.

Polians was criticized for leaving home without having consulted in either case and withdrawing the charge against them when they were referred to Clinton, given that they agreed to such a long period for him on the farm. He made these verbal admissions.

SIDNEY A. CATTIN
FORGAGE TRIAL TO
BEGIN NEXT WEEK

10/7/21

[illegible]

ht

Labor Conditions

GET MISSOURI CLEAN HOUSE

A representative of the St. Louis *Dispatch* has been investigating stories of peonage and semi-slavery existing in southern Missouri. Writing from Haiti, Mo., he gave this example:

Just here there is a farm known as Taylor farm, comprising something like 100 acres of land. If reports hereabouts are to be believed, and they come from good sources, on this particular farm, the work bell is rung at 4 a. m. and the wage paid for a day's work is \$1.00, but the workers never get a settlement. At 11 a. m. the women are called from the field to work in the house, and at 1 p. m. they return to the fields to finish the day with their husbands. Workers are not permitted to have hogs, chickens, etc., and the reason, presumably, is to force them to patronize the store; the foreman gives as his reason for not allowing the help to have chickens, cows, and the like is that they will get mixed up with his.

It was also alleged that the mayor at Commerce, Mo., does not permit Negroes to board or alight from Iron Mountain trains ahead of white people. It was further stated:

In this Town of Hayti, the Negroes are jam-crowded in buying railroad tickets by the Frisco agent. They are not permitted to purchase tickets at the same window as whites, and they have access to one small bench, four feet long as a waiting room. At Cape Girardeau about the same condition of affairs obtain for which the Frisco agent is to blame as much and more than anyone else.

It is believed that Governor Hyde of Missouri will give every possible relief in such cases as are brought to his attention, concludes the writer in the *Dispatch*.

No time should be lost in bringing these flagrant cases of oppression, which have no warrant in the laws of Missouri, to the attention of both the state and the Federal authorities. Missouri should not be allowed to fall into the same class with Georgia and other southern states in denying just treatment to any class of citizens.

The Missouri authorities also have under investigation a recent lynching at Bowling Green, the victim being a Negro youth, who had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment, on a technical charge. It is alleged that the sheriff

made no attempt to resist the mob and that his deputies although sworn to enforce the law, took part in the lynching. So far the investigation was declared to be of a farcical character, the grand jury failing to indict any of the mob.

The State authorities of Missouri need to start a general house cleaning in behalf of law and order.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

WASHING CARS IS MAIN OCCUPATION OF DALLAS MEN

Police Take Draconic Action In Attempt to Secure Farm Labor

Cleveland Call 7/9/21.
DALLAS, July 8—Police say the car washing business in Dallas has increased to such an extent farm labor has become scarce and farmers are begging for assistance. Nine out of ten Negroes stopped by the officers and questioned regarding their occupation say they are "car washers," working in garages.

A "take to the fields" order is being contemplated by Chief Elmo Strait, and Negroes who loaf around town and have no visible means of support will be ordered to leave town or go to work.

Policemen on beats in the Negro settlements have been instructed to drop the hint to Negroes without jobs to find one within the next few hours or leave town.

Texas.

Peonage (Alabama)

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Condition.

ALA. FARMERS FACE PEONAGE CHARGE; FORCED NEGROES TO WORK WITHOUT PAY

Times Plain Dealer 4/9/21

Pike County Planters, Alleged Forced Negroes to Work Without Adequate Pay.

Montgomery, April 7.—(Special)—James T. Tyner and Arthur Farmer, white men of Pike county, were held for trial in the federal court today for peonage, following a preliminary hearing before Commissioner James S. Parrish.

It is alleged the men held Jim Stenson and Joe R. Stenson, Negroes, involuntarily and forced them to work on their farm in Pike county. Both furnished a \$1,000 bond and were released pending the calling of their cases later.

Indictments were returned against the men some time ago, and their cases have been set for trial in May. It is alleged that after the indictments were returned the defendants obtained the Negroes again and forced them to work under the same conditions.

In the midst of a preliminary hearing Tyner and Farmer asked that their bonds be fixed. Two witnesses for the government had testified when counsel for the planters announced that the hearing would be waived.

Tyner and Farmer are alleged by the government agents, who made an investigation on their plantations, of holding Jim Stenson and Joe Stenson in a state of servitude. It is charged that the Negroes were forced to work against their will and without ordinary wages.

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions. FOUR ARRESTED IN TENNESSEE

PEONAGE CASE

Constitution 4/13/21
Knoxville, Tenn., April 12.—Superintendent H. R. Woods and Foreman C. R. M. Cottam, Everett Hicks and J. E. McMillan, employed by the Southern Construction company on the Lee highway in Grainger county, were arrested today by federal officers charged with conspiracy to hold seventy-five men in peonage and with "peonage."

ROAD WORKERS HELD ON PEONAGE CHARGE

Constitution 4/17/21
Morristown, Tenn., April 16.—H. R. Woods, superintendent, and C. R. McCothran, foreman of construction work on the Lee highway in Grainger county two miles north of Tate Springs, who were arrested Tuesday by federal officers on charges of "conspiracy to hold men in peonage," and with peonage, were today bound over to the May term of Federal court in Knoxville by United States Commissioner R. M. Hickey, under bonds of \$2,000 each.

Everett Hicks and J. E. McMillan, two foremen at work on the project, both of whom were arrested at the same time as Woods and McCothran were released, the evidence against them not being sufficient to warrant their retention by the government.

Commissioner Hickey bound Woods and McCothran over on their own testimony, which was to the effect that they had apprehended the men and taken them back to the camp of the Southern Construction company to work out board bills owing the company, and for transportation.

Preliminary Hearing Is Postponed After Much Evidence Is Heard

Montgomery Advertiser (Associated Press) 4/14/21
MORRISTOWN, TENN., April 13.—

After the entire day had been consumed in hearing all the evidence introduced by the government and part of the witnesses of the defendants United States commissioner R. M. Hickey at six o'clock this afternoon adjourned until Saturday morning the preliminary hearing of H. R. Woods, superintendent and C. R. McCothran, alias "Kid Heavy" Everett Hicks and J. E. McMillan, foreman of work on the Lee Highway in Grainger county two miles north of Tate Springs who were arrested Tuesday on charges of "conspiracy to hold men in peonage" and with "peonage."

United States District Attorney W. T. Kennerly of Knoxville represented the government before the commissioner. He introduced his three main witnesses, Will Garland, J. H. Hill, and Wm. McKinley Lee, all negroes, who allege that they were kept in virtual slavery by the defendants on the ground that they owed for board bills and transportation.

THREE TRUE BILLS CHARGE PEONAGE

A. H. Dunnaway, John Dunnaway and Deputy Sheriff Tom Erwin Are Indicted.

Constitution 5/8/21
An echo of the Georgia campaign against peonage was heard from Tennessee Saturday night when it became known that indictments had been returned by the United States grand jury against A. H. Dunnaway, wealthy planter of Oglethorpe, Ga., charged with being the alleged chief conspirator of a peonage plot developed in Chattanooga; John Dunnaway, his brother, and Tom Erwin, a deputy sheriff of Oglethorpe county.

It is understood that the prosecution of the Dunnaways and Erwin was directed from the office of the attorney-general in Washington, being the outgrowth of a series of habeas corpus cases instituted here two years ago by Attorney J. Walter Peak, counsel for John Muckle, a negro, in which it was charged that peonage was the motive for the attempt to take several negroes back to the state of Georgia to stand trial for various offenses. Issuance of process probably will not take place until the eve of the next term of federal court in Chattanooga.

Ordered Investigation.
When the case in Tennessee came to the attention of the government agents, Hooper Alexander, United States attorney for the northern district of Georgia, was instructed to investigate the charges. The bureau of investigation sent an agent to the Dunnaways' farm and a report unfavorable to the owner was made, according to Mr. Alexander.

Since the charges had been developed in Tennessee, the Georgia officials took the position that they should be brought before the United States grand jury there, he stated. In addition to these charges, it is also understood that the Dunnaway plantation has been under investigation on other occasions.

Following the report received from District Attorney Alexander, the government dispatched a secret service man to the section where the Dunnaways live. As the result United States Attorney Kennerly of the eastern district of Tennessee, was directed by the department of justice to prosecute the cases in which indictments were found in Chattanooga.

Peonage (Tennessee)

Conspiracy Charged.

A number of negroes were carried to Chattanooga from Oglethorpe county to appear before the grand jury. Indictments charging the Dunnaways and Erwin with conspiracy to violate the peonage laws, with impressing three negroes into service against their will and with practical operation of a peonage system here were the result. John Muckle, one of the alleged victims of peonage, was arrested in Chattanooga two years ago on a warrant from the state of Georgia. About the same time Mary Chealy and Tilford Jackson, two other negroes who were witnesses before the grand jury here this week, were taken into custody.

Muckle had been in Oglethorpe county and he was accused by John Dunnaway and Erwin of having decoyed the Jackson negroes from the Dunnaway plantation and having shot another negro. Mary Chealy and Tilford Jackson were returned to Georgia, placed in jail and later bailed out by A. P. Dunnaway. Muckle fought extradition, but lost his case, was brought back to Georgia and later released.

In the meantime Lula Jackson, mother of Tilford Jackson, who had returned to Georgia, is said to have remained in Chattanooga, but a short time later was decoyed across the Georgia line and placed in jail. She claimed she was bailed out by the Dunnaways and placed at work on the plantation.

The cases against the defendants, it is understood, will be tried at the November term of federal court in Chattanooga.

OGLETHORPE JURY INDICTS PLANTER, PEONAGE CHARGED

Montgomery Advertiser (Associated Press) 5/8/21

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., May 7.—An echo of the Georgia peonage scandal was heard here today when it became known that indictments had been returned by the United States grand jury against A. H. Dunnaway, a wealthy planter of Oglethorpe, Ga., on the charge of being the chief conspirator of a peonage plan developed here, according to the government's theory, by John Dunnaway, a brother, and Tom Erwin, a deputy sheriff of Oglethorpe county.

All the men named have been indicted, but issuance of process will probably not take place until the eve of the next term of federal court.

It is understood that the prosecution of the Dunnaways and Erwin was directed from the office of attorney general in Washington, being the outgrowth of a series of habeas corpus cases instituted here two years ago by Attorney J. Walter Peak, counsel for John Muckle, a negro, in which it was charged that peonage was the motive for the attempt to take several negroes back to the state of Georgia to stand trial for various offenses.

East Tennessee News 5/5/21

Special To The News.

Tate Springs, Tenn., May 2.—W. G. Gordon, a Negro is being sought by officers on the charge of setting fires to fuses and caps at the storage house of the Southern Construction company, which is engaged in building roads through this county. The explosion which followed when the ton of dynamite went off was felt for miles around and 12,000 electric exploders, a 90-horse power boiler, 10,000 dynamite caps and 15,000 feet of fuse were destroyed.

H. R. Woods, white superintendent who is now under a bond of \$1000 to appear before the May term of federal court in Knoxville to answer to the charges of holding Negroes in peonage, beating them unmercifully and otherwise maltreating them, is Gordon's accuser and bases his suspicion of the Negro on, as he states, "my having discharged him for carelessness."

Gordon is said to have given valuable information to the government detectives which resulted in the white superintendent and several of his foremen being arrested on peonage charge. He is said to have remained on the works at the suggestion of the officers and when it became known that he was one of the sources of information for the government, he was threatened. When accosted by Superintendent Woods, Gordon is said to have picked up a peice of iron to defend himself, whereupon he was driven from the camp at the point of pistols. This difficulty between Gordon and Woods occurred on Saturday afternoon and the explosion occurred on Saturday night. Many local citizens are of the belief that the Negro, fearful of meeting death following the difficulty with the white superintendent, left the camp and did not return. The explosion is attributed to some accident.

C. R. McCothran, white road boss is the other man who with Wood was bound over to the May term of federal court on the peonage charges.

NEGROES BEATEN AND THREATENED BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY FOREMEN

East Tennessee News 5/14/21

Complaints of three Negro laborers who escaped from the construction camp of the Southern Construction Company and came to Knoxville, registered with officials of the local federal department, caused an investigation of the conditions existing in Grainger county, only a few miles from Knoxville, where a pike road is under construction and resulted in the disclosure of the startling facts that a condition of peonage almost as flagrant and cruel as that which was recently exposed on the Williams farm in Jasper county, Georgia, existed. The Georgia conditions only exceed the Grainger county condition, due to the fact that there were eleven murders of peons and the investigation thus far by the federal agents have disclosed no murders.

H. R. Woods, superintendent, and C. R. McCothran, alias Kid Heavy, Everett Hicks and J. E. McMillan, all white foremen of the work being done on the Lee Highway, in Grainger county, have been arrested by federal officers on the charge of "conspiracy to hold men in peonage" and with "peonage."

The investigation was directed by United States District Attorney W. T. Kennerly, of this city, and the arrests were made by U. S. Marshals D. J. Hickman and W. D. Cawley. The men were arraigned before U. S. Commissioner R. M. Hickey at Morristown, who allowed them temporary bonds for their appearance before him on Friday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The Negroes were held by the foreman who gave the excuse that they were working out board bills. The practice as employed in the above cases is similar to that which was exposed by The News several months ago in connection with activities of agents of the Aluminum Company of America, operating at Maryville, Tenn., and the Mascot Zinc Company, in which it was charged that laborers who were brought to this section were arrested when they became dissatisfied with conditions, and expressed a desire to leave, and sent to the workhouse on the trumped up charge of "beating board bills." The News was instrumental in bring about the release of scores of innocent Negroes from the workhouse through habeas corpus procedure, when taken up before Judge T. A. R. Nelson, who, in every instance, ordered their immediate release. The practice was stopped after the violators of the federal law were threatened with prosecution in the federal courts.

The witnesses for the prosecution Will Garland, J. H. Hill, and William McKinley Gaines, three of the Negroes who had been in the employ of the Southern Construction Company, related pitiful stories of the inhuman treatment accorded them by the cruel bosses who guarded them with Winchester rifles as if they were convicts. They declared that when they arrived at the camp they were taken into one of the foreman's tents and stripped of all clothing, put across a tool chest and beaten with a pine board three feet long and six inches thick. Garland showed a wrist which he said had been broken in an unsuccessful attempt to escape his captors according to General Kennerly.

The two special agents made trips to the camp and asked that the men be paid off and were told that they were being held on the "board bill" charges.

The complaint is made by Special Agent Cawley before U. S. Commissioner J. Pike Powers, Jr., of Knoxville, who swore out the warrants says: "that in Grainger county, Tennessee, on the date hereinafter named, H. R. Woods, C. R. Cothran, alias Kid Heavy; Everett Hicks and J. E. McMillan hereinafter referred to as the defendants, did knowingly and feloniously commit the following offenses against the laws of the United States, to-wit:

"First: That on March 15th, 1921, the said defendants did feloniously conspire to commit an offense against the

laws of the United States to-wit, to hold, arrest and return and to cause to be held, arrested and returned to a condition of peonage Will Garland, J. H. Hill, Wm. McKinley Lee, J. C. Cosby, Ed Williams and others to affiant unknown: that is to say, to hold and cause the aforesaid parties to render service and labor until said defendants and the Southern Construction company, a corporation, and in voluntary service and labor of the said services in liquidation and payment of certain alleged debts and obligations which it was claimed that aforesaid persons owed to the said defendants and to the said Southern Construction company."

The complaint then enumerates a list of "overt acts" alleged to have been committed for the purpose of effecting the object and purpose of said conspiracy."

This list includes the following allegations:

"A—They forcibly arrested - - - Will Garner and J. H. Hill near Tate Springs, Tennessee, and compelled them to return to the camp and works - - - and to work and to labor thereat in the construction of a public highway.

"B—That on March 18 they forcibly arrested and, by threats and intimidation took into custody J. H. Hill, Will Garland and Wm. McKinley Lee, at Morristown, Tennessee, and against their will returned them to the aforesaid camp and works - - - and there compelled them against their will to work and labor.

"C—That on March 18, - - - they forcibly and unlawfully beat, injured and wounded the said Will Garland, J. H. Hill and William McKinley Lee for the purpose of intimidating them and compelled them to work upon the - - - works - - - involuntarily and against their will in order to pay and liquidate the aforesaid indebtedness.

"D—That on March 18 - - - the said defendants unlawfully assaulted, wounded and injured the said Ed Williams.

"E—That on divers dates between March 15 and April 6, 1921, the said defendants did unlawfully assault, wound, injure, threaten and intimidate the aforesaid parties, and other employees of the defendants.

The second charge in the complaint is "that on March 18th, 1921, the defendants held, arrested and returned, and caused to be held, arrested and returned to a system of peonage, Will Garland, J. H. Hill, William McKinley Lee, J. C. Cosby, Ed Williams, E. E. Edwards, Nathan Farmer, Henry Johnson, D. J. Tipton, E. D. Geory, Spencer Cole, Thomas Ray, Emmet Coppage, A. C. Robertson, Eugene Rogers, Frank Jackson, John Short, Dennis McBee, L. V. Herring and others to the affiant unknown; that is to say, the said defendants held, arrested and returned, and caused to be held, arrested and returned and did aid and abet in the arrest, holding and return of the above named parties unto the work and service of the said defendants - - - and into the involuntary service and labor thereof of the aforesaid persons to thereby compel them to pay and liquidate certain alleged debts and obligations claimed by the said defendants to be owing by the above named parties as peons to said defendants and to the said Southern Construction company, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the United States of America."

The complaint then enumerates a score or more witnesses which the government will introduce at the trial of the defendants when it comes up in court, should they be bound over and indicted.

The Southern Construction company is a Tennessee concern with headquarters in Harriman, according to the federal officers.

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions

OHIO LEGISLATURE WANTS FEDERAL ACTION ON PEONAGE

Representative Stevens Introduces
Resolution in Pennsylvania—Brought
About by Efforts of N. A. A. C. P.

Chicago White 8/7/21
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, today announced the receipt of a resolution passed by the Ohio legislature and of a resolution introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature, both urging a thorough federal investigation of peonage throughout the South. The Ohio resolution was introduced by Senator Day at the instance of Harry E. Davis, chairman of the legal committee, Cleveland Branch, N. A. A. C. P. The Pennsylvania resolution was introduced by Representative Andrew F. Stevens.

When the peonage conditions in Jasper County, Georgia, were brought to light, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wrote to thirteen colored members in seven state legislatures asking them to have resolutions introduced urging a thorough federal investigation throughout the South.

Following is the resolution introduced as a result of the N. A. A. C. P. letters and passed by the Ohio legislature:

Whereas, The entire country has been astounded by the revelation of peonage conditions in the South; and

Whereas, Such conditions exist in violation of the thirteenth amendment of the federal constitution and the laws enacted by congress pursuant thereto, and the federal government has undoubted authority to take any action it deems advisable with or without the co-operation of any state; therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the president of the United States be, and he is hereby memorialized and requested to instruct the attorney general to conduct an investigation of peonage conditions in the South in violation of the federal constitution and laws, assist the state authorities in prosecutions when necessary or advisable, and take any other legal prosecutions to bring all violators of such laws to justice and stamp out all vestiges of the un-American condition of peonage.

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Be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to each senator and representative from Ohio.

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Be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to each senator and representative from Ohio.

Peonage (Ohio)

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

ACQUITTED OF PEONAGE

Commercial Appeal Memphis 11/4/21
GREENWOOD, S. C., Nov. 3.—William Bedenbaugh, farmer of Saluda County, was found not guilty of peonage yesterday by a jury in federal court here.

Bedenbaugh was charged with having detained on his farm by force Odell Brooks, a young negro, in January, 1920. The defense claimed that Brooks was brought back to the Bedenbaugh farm on a warrant charging the theft of chickens. The prosecution contended that the warrant was only a subterfuge to bring Brooks back to work.

South Carolina (Peonage)

Agriculture - 1921

Labor Conditions

TEXAS PEONAGE NOW

Commercial Appeal 5/7/21
ABILENE, TEX., April 30.—A federal grand jury will go into session here tomorrow to investigate alleged peonage among ranchers employing Colored labor.

Government agents have been investigating reports that laborers have been chained by cattlemen to keep them from escaping, with threats of death cowing this class of labor.

Wholesale deportation of Mexican laborers brought to West Texas under special common labor permits are expected to follow the federal probe.

NEGRO GIVEN DAMAGES.

Memphis Dem 11/13/21
Was forced to work on plantation

Commercial Appeal 11/13/21
TEXARKANA, Texas, Nov. 14.—A jury verdict of \$7,500 was rendered in federal court for the Sixth Texas District here in favor of L. C. Chambers, negro, in a suit for \$10,000 damages for injuries to a leg sustained while doing enforced labor on the plantation of Lewis Lewellen, near here, last spring. Judge Estes in his charge to the jury told them to consider the peonage phase of the case.

Chambers' petition stated he was arrested in Texarkana by the police on a vagrancy charge last spring. After delays as to trial, he charged he was turned over to the custody of the sheriff, whom his complaint alleged turned him over to Lewellen to work on the latter's plantation.

While engaged there in enforced labor, Chambers alleged, he was struck on the knee with an ax by another negro. He was permitted to lie for days without medical attention and a stiff leg resulted, he averred. The award was made because the stiff leg incapacitated him from work, according to court records.

NEGRO GETS \$7,500 DAMAGES.

Commercial Appeal 11/13/21
TEXARKANA, Nov. 14.—In the federal court on the Texas side, L. C. Chambers, a young negro, was awarded a verdict for \$7,500 in damages against Lewis Lewellen et al. for alleged false imprisonment and for injuries he claimed to have sustained while a prisoner on a convict farm, near Mount Pleasant in Titus County. He asked for \$25,000.

According to the plaintiff's complaint, his name is at Shreveport, which he left about a year ago and went to Mount Pleasant in search of work. He says he was arrested without a warrant and was sent to the convict farm without ever being given a trial in court. While at the farm he was attacked by a convict guard, who split his knee with an ax, causing an injury which in all probability will be permanent, he says. Lewellen was an officer at the time and arrested Chambers, while all the other defendants were either defendants or connected with the convict farm. Chambers said he was told by the officers at the time he was arrested that the charge against him was vagrancy.

Peonage (Texas)

DIVISION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

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GOVERNOR TO URGE LEGAL BARRIERS TO CURB PEONAGE

In Final Message to Legislature He Will Recommend More Stringent Laws on Statute Books.

FAVORS BUDGET SYSTEM
AND TAX LAW CHANGES

Graduated Income Tax
Bill to Be Introduced as
Salvation of State's Financial Trouble.

Constitution 4/30/21

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's final solution to the states financial message to the general assembly, troubles. This bill will have the recommending an investigation of support of several officials of the racial conditions in Georgia; the Hardwick administration.

passage of proper legislation to In discussing peonage and racial relieve the situation; the adoption conditions in Georgia, the chief of an improved budget system and executive has maintained that code necessary amendments to thesection 716 is one of the chief state's tax laws, will be one of the causes of peonage in this state. most far-reaching importance and His official statement on "The subject to more comment than any Negro in Georgia," was published such communication delivered in re in The Constitution last Sunday, cent years.

While the governor has given the recommendation that it be re-official forecast of his recommen-pealed. The law, with section 715 frequently stated his position on "715. Procuring money or contract the vital issues confronting thefor services fraudulently. If any state at present. Relative to peon-person shall contract with another age conditions in Georgia, he has to perform for him services of any been especially active, taking skind, with intent to procure money leading part in the campaign tcor other thing of value thereby, and bring to an end all such viola-not to perform the service contractions and cruelty to blacks.

His recommendations regarding the hirer, or, after having so con-the improved budget system will tract, shall procure from the hirer money, or other thing of value, with likely follow those of his first intent not to perform such service, term as chief executive. In this to the loss and damage of the hirer, respect, it is believed he will urge he shall be deemed a common cheat that the assembly amend the pres-and swindler, and upon conviction ent budget and efficiency law so shall be punished as for a misde-as to require a two-thirds majority feanor.

of either house to over-rule and "716. Proof of intent to defraud. Satisfactory proof of the contract, the procuring thereon of money or increase a recommendation of the commission in regard to any de- other thing of value, the failure partment's appropriation.

The present budget and efficiency,

commission is composed of the governor, the chairman of the ways and means committee of the house, the chairman of the finance committee of the senate and several other state house officials. As the law now stands, the recommendations of this body, which meets during May of each year to study financial and other needs of the various departments, may be easily over-ruled and appropriations increased.

In all states where the budget system has been applied, the financial strength has been improved, it is pointed out. It is the governor's plan to institute a similar commission in Georgia. Owing to the present financial embarrassment of the state and the attitude of the new legislators entering the general assembly in June, it is believed that his suggestions will be adopted.

Will Recommend Changes.

A section of the tax equalization law has been declared unconstitutional by the United States supreme court and there are several other weak parts which the governor will recommend to be changed and thereby strengtnened. Just what position he will take on the passage of a graduated income tax is not known, but it has been learned that such a bill will be presented in the house as the

law. Giving the governor the discretion and power in any case of violence or lynching to authorize and direct any judge of the superior court to draw grand and petit juries from the state at large for the consideration and trial of such cases, and authorizing the governor to designate the place at which the trial or trials shall be held.

When the adoption of the proposed laws comes up in the legislature, they will be subject to much debate, but beginning Monday a thorough campaign by the state committee of race relations to acquaint all legislators with the real situation in this state will be started. Each will be sent a copy of the governor's booklet. Presentation of the bills would result in an investigation of conditions by the legislature.

This campaign will be directed by an executive committee composed of Dr. M. Ashby Jones, chairman; John A. Manget, Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick, Madison; Marion M. Jackson, L. D. Newton, E. Marvin Underwood, Thomas Johnson, James B. Nevin, John D. Moss, Athens; Homer L. Grice, Washington; John J. Eagan, Dr. C. B. Wilmer, M. C. Greene, Gray, Dr. Jones named this committee Friday afternoon, and will call a meeting to be held at an early date.

At this conference the policy of the committee will be decided upon, and it is believed the committee will arrange to make a strong fight in the legislature for the recommendations of the governor regarding racial conditions in Georgia.

tracted for, or failure to return the money so advanced with interest thereon at the time said labor was to be performed, without good and sufficient cause, and loss or damage to the hirer, shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the intent referred to in the preceding section."

Wants State Constabulary.

The enactment of the following legislation to which will probably be added a state peonage law will also be recommended:

Establishing a state constabulary under proper safeguards and authorizing the governor, upon his own motion, to send members of such force into any county of the state to quell disorder or to protect the life and property of any citizen.

Imposing a financial penalty upon any county in which a lynching may occur.

Authorizing the governor to appoint at any time any three judges of the superior court to act as a commission to investigate any lynching occurring in any county and empowering the chief executive to remove from office any public official found by such commission to have failed to enforce or uphold the law.

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By Staff Correspondent

Covington, Ga., May 13.—Georgia farms are facing this summer a second exodus of hands to the North, more immense in its proportions than the migration of men and women North during the days of the war. Thousands of citizens are leaving all sections of the state. The direct cause of this emigration is the utter despair

into which property owners and workers have been put by revelations growing out of the notorious Williams "death farm" murder case. In Jasper and Newton counties, where the first cases of peonage were run down by federal agents, hundreds of men with their families have left for other parts. Some people have been seen from regions far removed from railroads. One case was reported of a man who came on his way to Maryland. He had never seen a railroad train.

Most of the immigrants are bound for various colonization centers, which have been advertised since the war. Some have found refuge even as far off as Oregon and in Lower California. Washington state has claimed a few. The greatest number probably invaded Michigan, where the Homestead Development Association is planning a great agricultural enterprise. Approximately four thousand passed through Chicago for various points. Those who have money enough are probably being interested in the colonization project being carried on in the West.

Since federal agents began statewide investigations in Georgia, the people in all parts of the state have become apprehensive. Letters pour into the authorities with offers to give them stories of alleged mistreatment and peonage. One letter sent in told of a sign in one of the public parks of a large city reading, "No dogs and niggers allowed." Too, it is felt that they are feeling more keenly than ever the horridness of the Jim Crow system, segregation and disfranchisement.

PROBE REVEALS PEONAGE DEATH

ATLANTA GA GEORGIAN
APRIL 28, 1921

The slaying of an aged negro, investigated by federal officials in line with the antipeonage crusade, was bared Thursday by agents of the Department of Justice.

The old man, who was killed at some isolated point between Covington, in Newton County, and Machen, in Jasper County, had been shot with a shotgun and a pistol and beaten in the head with an ax.

Fairly definite information, gained in the preliminary hunt, was turned over to the governor's office by Vincent Hughes, chief of the Atlanta bureau of the department.

In an effort to obtain further information to supplement the work of federal probers, District Attorney Hooper Alexander gave reporters a statement which he termed "an advertisement to law-abiding residents of the region to supply further facts."

Information has reached me tending to indicate the commission of a singularly brutal and atrocious murder somewhere between Covington and Machen. It is said that the person committing the murder is known, but that everybody is afraid of him, and that nothing has been

or will be done about it. I would be glad for my informants to know that unless I have further information in two particulars I can not even investigate the affair. If the crime occurred in Jasper County, the jurisdiction is in the Southern District, and it would be out of my power to take any step at all beyond referring the matter to the Bureau of Investigation. If it occurred in Newton County, the situation would be otherwise. Even in that event, however, I could take no action, unless the offense transgressed some law of the United States.

The mere fact that the victim was a harmless old negro would make no difference in this respect. Murder is a crime against the laws of Georgia only, and if there is nothing else involved, it would be out of the power of the United States to take any action. The circumstances as reported to me are so horrible that I feel moved to say that if any person who knows the facts will disclose them to me in detail I will stretch my authority to the limit in order to afford redress, or to aid in securing it, and will not divulge the name of my informants. If there is nothing in the case except plain murder, the facts should be reported to the Hon. Doyle Campbell at Monticello, or the Hon. A. M. Brand, at Lithonia, according as the offense took place in Jasper or Newton.

Officials guarded closely the evidence already obtained, fearing that more than a general statement of the situation now would hamper the investigation. It was declared the identity of the slayer would not be difficult to learn.

Tom Walker of 152 Randolph street, arrested here Monday night and taken to Monticello, Jasper County, returned home late Wednesday afternoon and was questioned by federal agents. Others are investigating the affair which ended in Walker's prompt release on being tried at Monticello.

The negro told agents that his captors were John Smith, a planter on whose farm Walker and his wife had worked two months without pay; Oscar Thomason, brother-in-law of John S. Williams, and a man named Hackett. The belief that there was a fourth member of the party was erroneous, Walker said.

It was revealed for the first time Thursday that as the trio were leaving the house with the negro, his aged aunt, Margaret Burnett, demanded:

"Why don't you take him to police station instead of back to Jasper County to kill him?"

Incidents of the journey related to officials by Walker caused them to believe the old woman's declaration and the immediate action taken by federal officers in the case caused abandonment of the real purpose of the expedition.

Walker said the negro, Jenkins, whose name was signed to the warrant charging kidnaping on which he was arrested, had said he had "nothing against Walker." The Jenkins negro's son, Charles, whom Walker was alleged to have kidnaped, had returned to Jasper County on two visits since he left the county with Walker, the departure on which the warrant was based.

THE STATE SHOULD FOLLOW
Constitution 5/10/21
In abolishing corporal punishment in convict camps noted for the excellence of their discipline under constructive, humane, character-building methods.

Long ago the lash was banished from all federal prisons, and today, almost without exception, they are noted for the excellence of their discipline under constructive, humane, character-building methods.
ATLANTA GA AMERICAN
MAY 15, 1921

Negro Fears Peonage Will Follow Arrest

Rich Manning, a negro, went to the district attorney's office Saturday morning and asked for protection against alleged attempts to take him into peonage. He is now employed as a laborer by F. P. Hefflin, an Atlanta contractor. Numerous attempts have been made during the last few days to arrest him, he said. A policeman and a plain clothes man appeared at his home in East Baker street Friday with a warrant for his arrest, he said. Questioned by Mr. Alexander, Manning said he believed a former employer near Hartwell was trying to take him forcibly back to the farm.

Mr. Alexander addressed a letter to Chief Beavers Saturday morning calling his attention to the matter.

TWO ATLANTA PASTORS TO DISCUSS PEONAGE

Constitution 5/20/21
Two Atlanta ministers, Rev. John W. Ham, pastor of the Baptist tabernacle, and Dr. Caleb Ridley, of the Central Baptist church, will deliver sermons Sunday on alleged peonage conditions in Georgia, according to announcements made Thursday.

Dr. Ridley will discuss Governor Dorsey's pamphlet, while Mr. Ham will deliver a sermon on "Peonage Within the Law and Peonage Without the Law."

OFFICERS SEEKING NEGRO WHO FIRED

AT "BONEY" HOGAN
Constitution 4/14/21

Dublin, Ga., June 13.—(Special.) U. G. B. "Boney" Hogan, a well-known farmer of this section, held under bond for investigation by the federal grand jury on peonage charges, had a narrow escape from death today when John Towns, a negro, emptied his pistol at Hogan as the farmer was attempting to quell a disturbance on his farm in which a negro was shot and painfully wounded. Towns, charged with the shooting, is being sought by county officers.

Towns, who has a bad reputation, officers assert, is believed by many to have played a prominent part in bringing about the investigation by federal officers on Hogan's farm some weeks ago, in connection with alleged peonage conditions. Towns was formerly employed by Hogan, but late last fall went to work at Ocilla.

CHARGES OF PEONAGE FLYING THICK AND FAST—GEORGIA NEGROES BRINGING CHARGES AGAINST EMPLOYERS, LANDLORDS AND CREDITORS

Negro World 5/24/21

Public Indignation Aroused—System of Land Cropping by Tenants May Eventually Be Abolished in State.

By GLENN C. QUIETT.

Special Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

ATHENS, Ga., May 12. Charges of peonage are flying thick and fast in Georgia these days. County prosecutors, Federal officials, and even the village lawyers are being swamped with complaints brought by Negroes against their employers, landlords and creditors.

As yet only one conviction has been made—that of the Williams family, whose inhuman treatment and murder of Negro workers shocked the nation—and few cases have been found which have warranted indictment. This in spite of peonage reports, whose number is legion. The term "peonage" is being used indiscriminately.

The conviction in the Jasper county case and the Governor's disclosure of evidence of peonage in twenty-six counties have stirred Georgia through, so much so that every Negro is certain to get investigation of his peonage charges, however slightly they may be grounded in fact. Undoubtedly, additional cases of cruelty, oppression and peonage will be unearthed under present conditions which a year ago would have remained hidden, but just now the authorities are being called upon to investigate hundreds of charges which are unsubstantiated.

Grand Jury's Statement.

While the air is filled with rumors of "murder farms," the Federal Grand Jury, in session at Macon, reports "Of the charges brought before this

body it is found that in only one or two instances was there sufficient evidence to warrant this body finding a true bill. Further, that this body deplores and denounces any condition of peonage wherever it is found to exist, and, further, deplores the fact that there have been so many unwarranted rumors of conditions of peonage in the State of Georgia." This is the jury which indicted John S. Williams and his three sons for the Jasper county wholesale murder of Negroes.

No plantation owner, arraigned on a peonage charge, could now expect any clemency from a Georgia jury. Public indignation is aroused. The most influential citizens of the State have accepted Gov. Dorsey's invitation to serve on the race relations committee which is to carry its investigations into every county of Georgia through an executive committee of seven members and which will appoint local boards to consider the facts disclosed in the Governor's book of cases and the remedies he has outlined.

A typical case, such as the authorities are now investigating, is that of Dave Bean, a Negro, who recently charged that his employer kept him in a condition of peonage for eleven years. Bean told Atlanta newspaper men that he had worked on the plantation for eleven years without receiving anything for his labor; that during that time he was held in peonage, and that he escaped under cover of night and ran to Atlanta for protection. Investigation of the plantation followed the wide circulation of this story.

The facts disclosed are simply that Bean went to Atlanta after he had sold mortgaged property and that the automobile dealer who held the mortgage secured his return for trial. Bean worked land on the plantation for eleven years, turning over to the proprietor enough cotton to pay his rent and fertilizer bills, keeping the remainder. He traded freely at the stores in

neighboring towns and paid his bills. An automobile dealer sold him a car on security of a mortgage. One Sunday morning, after he had sold the mortgaged property, he set off in a buggy with his wife to go to "meeting" and was not heard from again until his charges of peonage were made in Atlanta.

The people of Georgia have been shocked by the disclosures of the past few weeks. They are ashamed that such conditions as those disclosed in Jasper County have existed, and they are anxious that all violators of the laws of the United States and the laws of common decency be punished. Northern people should realize, however, that not all of the alleged peonage cases are founded on fact; that many reports from irresponsible persons are called forth by the general hysteria. Among the claims which can be substantiated is one, the records of which are now in the office of Hooper Alexander, United States District Attorney at Atlanta. The evidence shows that at least one white man has been held in peonage. According to the reports, a young white man was bought for \$70 by the owner of a plantation in the western part of the State and is being held until he has worked out the full value of his purchase price. Several efforts to escape have been frustrated by friends of the planter, it is said. The department is about to make announcement concerning this case.—New York Evening Post.

PEONAGE CHARGES COME UP IN COURT ON NEXT SATURDAY

Constitution 6/23/21
The district attorney's office is completing plans for the trial Saturday of Irwin Morris, Hugh Morris and four other citizens of Clayton and Henry counties, charged with conspiring to hold a negro, Jerry Ravin, in bondage.

In the Morris case it is alleged that Ravin escaped from the Irwin Morris farm several months ago and was sheltered by his brother, Tom Ravin, until a party of white men took him from Tom's home and then riddled the house with bullets, one of which killed Tom's wife.

The other four, who are charged with being a party to the alleged attempt to remand Ravin to a state of alleged slavery, are Sam Gardner, James E. Gwaldney, Lou Everett and John Brown, a negro. The defendants are now under bond.

The action of the Chatham board of commissioners came as the sequel to the recent brutal flogging of a chaingang prisoner who subsequently was proven to be a member of the American Legion who had been disabled and rendered irresponsible by injuries received in line of duty in France.

He had been arrested for a violation of the law, convicted, assigned to the Chatham county chaingang, and was flogged by the gang whipping boss before his real identity became known to the Savannah Legion.

That organization immediately conducted an investigation, and the whipping boss was arrested for gross brutality. At his trial he was defended by the prison commission, his superior and fellow-guards in the county prison organization; and a mistrial followed.

Then the commissioners, according to a press dispatch, "adopted a resolution immediately abolishing corporal punishment in the convict camps of the county, and Judge Oliver T. Bacon, chairman, in a vigorous statement, said he will bend all of his efforts to having the state law authorizing whipping repealed.

This action is all the more significant by reason of the fact that Chatham county ranks second in the state in point of wealth and population.

Georgia is one of only a very few states in which the flogging of prisoners is permitted, and of only three or four in which it is practiced.

One by one other states have abolished the lash. They have found that the substitution of more humane methods of enforcement of prison rules has entailed no semblance of loss in discipline.

If other states can get along without employing men to ply the lash to the bodies of other men, surely Georgia can do the same thing.

Within the last two years the practice of whipping has been abolished in the city stockade, and discipline has not suffered.

FEDERAL AGENTS TO PROBE SECOND "MURDER FARM"

Evidence That Three Negroes Have Been Killed in South Georgia Furnished District Attorney.

Constitution 4/25/21

Declaring that he had in his possession evidence indicating that at least three negroes have been killed on a plantation in a south Georgia county operated in the same manner as the famous John S. Williams "murder farm," Vincent Hughes, head of the Atlanta federal bureau of investigation, announced Sunday night that his agents will leave Monday to conduct a thorough probe of the charges.

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey stated that, while none of the facts in the new case had been referred to him up to Sunday night, he would co-operate with the federal officials in bringing about an immediate probe of the alleged second "murder farm," and would confer with the county authorities as soon as possible. Owing to the absence of any official report to the state, the governor said, he could take no action until fully advised.

Assure Co-operation.

In discussing the case, Mr. Hughes asserted that several reliable witnesses had assured the department of justice of their full co-operation in conducting the investigation this week. The case was referred to him late Saturday night by District Attorney Hooper Alexander, who first received information concerning the alleged murders, and Mr. Hughes said that he had not completed his examination of the material.

"We do not feel at liberty in revealing the name of the county in which the farm is located," he stated, "as our officials will leave Monday to make their investigation. I understand that the witnesses giving the district attorney accounts of the alleged murders are reliable and can be depended upon for aid in our probe."

"From the information I have in my possession, the murder of three negroes is indicated, and it is possible that more may have been

killed. You realize, of course, that our evidence has not yet been corroborated by the discovery of the bodies, and our investigations this week will be toward this end.

"The evidence we have is sensational and the case may develop into one almost as bad as the Williams case," he concluded.

Not in Jurisdiction.

District Attorney Alexander stated that the county in which the "murder farm" is located is without his jurisdiction and that he referred the matter to the bureau of investigation with the understanding the case would be called to the attention of John W. Bennet, district attorney of the southern district of Georgia, should the developments warrant such action.

Refusing to divulge any of the names of witnesses and the name of the county, the district attorney added that the charges had been referred to him by citizens who did not know to whom to take the matter. "Since the case had been placed in the hands of the bureau of investigation, he stated that he did not feel at liberty to hinder their operations by divulging the evidence as presented to him, but that he did not feel that the information to the effect three negroes are said to have been killed on the farm would interfere with the agents."

It is not known whether the charges against the south Georgia plantation owner have been referred to any county officials. The witnesses informing the district attorney asserted that a condition of peonage existed on the farm.

"Conditions Are Bad."

Mr. Alexander asserted that conditions in Georgia are very bad and must be remedied. His department is receiving all cases of alleged peonage, and in many instances where the county is not within his jurisdiction or the charges without his authority, he is referring them to the proper officials.

Relative to peonage conditions in this state and cruelty to negroes, Governor Dorsey stated Sunday that he was prepared to support all of the charges he has compiled in a booklet by revealing the names and affidavits to all parties desiring the information.

The governor's booklet was published almost in full in Sunday's Constitution, and the action he has taken in the matter has caused much favorable comment. He has called for a thorough investigation of peonage in Georgia.

Will Ask Indictments.

When the federal grand jury convenes today, indictments charging peonage will be sought against John S. Williams and his three sons, Marvin, LeRoy and Huland. The federal grand jury of the southern district of Georgia will also be requested to return similar indictments when it convenes next month, it is stated. The three Williams boys have escaped from the state, but a thorough search is being made for them.

All three are under murder indictments returned by the Jasper county grand jury. John S. Williams, who was convicted and sentenced to

life imprisonment in the Newton county superior court, has appealed for a new trial and the motion will be heard in Decatur next Saturday before Judge John B. Hutcheson. Solicitor-General A. M. Brand will oppose the motion.

Constitution 4/26/21

Georgia Authorities Have Failed Absolutely in Handling the Cases, Declares High Official Here

GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO SEND 50 MEN HERE

Murder of Blacks in Baker County and Night Riding in Taliaferro and in Spalding, Is Charged.

"Since the state of Georgia has failed absolutely in handling peonage, lynching and cruelty to negroes conditions, I believe the federal government should be asked to take complete charge of the situation and remain in control until these violations of the law are checked."

This statement, made by one of the highest officials of the state Monday night, additional startling developments relative to holding negroes in peonage, killing and according them other cruel treatment, and the announcement of Vincent Hughes, head of the federal bureau of investigation, that department heads in Washington had informed him they would send unlimited assistance to Georgia to handle the government's end of the cases, caused much speculation as to the next steps to relieve the situation.

Urges Prosecution.

Coincident with this discussion came the statement of Governor Hugh M. Dorsey that he would call upon every solicitor-general to prosecute immediately all cases of mob violence and cruelty to negroes. At the same time, he declared he will "do all in his power to bring the real situation in Georgia before its citizens," and co-operate with federal officials in their prosecutions.

Governor Dorsey's decision for immediate action was reached Monday afternoon following the receipt of sensational allegations of the murdering of blacks in Baker county, activities of night riders in Taliaferro, Spalding and other counties.

"I would be killed if some of the people of my county knew that I

Peonage (Georgia)

had given this information," read one of the letters received from a white man who described conditions in the county in which he resides.

Baker County Conditions.

One of the letters from Baker county told of how negroes were taken from their homes at night and whipped, while others were ordered to leave their homes and on failing were either severely punished or killed. It was charged that instead of decreasing, these unlawful acts were increasing.

"The situation in Georgia is unbelievable," said the governor. "I cannot understand it. I believe the people should be acquainted with the full facts in the various cases reported to this office and have arranged for full publicity. I will ask every solicitor-general in the state to prosecute immediately all acts of mob violence and request the next legislature to strengthen our laws covering all such cases."

The exact location of the second "murder farm" was learned by The Constitution Monday night. While the name of the owner and the county cannot be revealed, owing to the inquiry of federal agents, it may be stated that the plantation is owned by two of the wealthiest farmers in south Georgia and is cultivated strictly along modern lines.

Beautiful Residence.

Very few mules are used on the place, tractors and trucks performing most of the work. The residence of one of the owners, who resides on the place, is one of the most beautiful in the county, and has all the conveniences of city homes. Both farmers have taken a prominent part in public affairs of the county. Their farm, which covers several thousand acres, has been considered a model to be followed by a number of the leading agriculturist of Georgia.

About fifty negroes are employed on the plantation, and it is charged that a number of these have been held in peonage; that when several of them escaped, they were apprehended and returned and accorded cruel treatment. District Attorney Hooper Alexander received his information from white people, he stated, who described conditions on the plantation equally as bad as those of the Williams "murder farm." At least three blacks have been killed on the south Georgia farm, it is alleged.

Large Number of Cases.

When Vincent Hughes was informed of the high official's statement concerning the probability of requesting the federal government to take complete charge of the situation in Georgia, he said that he did not know how his department's activities could be broadened to such an extent unless a bill, now before the lower house of congress, is passed.

"At present we are receiving a

large number of cases each day, and none of our investigations is delayed more than three days after the receipt. In the more important case, we, of course, make immediate inquiries," he asserted.

It is impossible for the federal government to take complete charge of the situation unless Governor Dorsey or a federal judge informs United States officials that the situation is beyond control of the state, that blacks are being murdered daily and that aid is necessary. If this should be the proceedings, the government would order United States marshals to protect the negroes, and if they could handle the situation, troops would be dispatched.

Will Send 50 Men.

"My chief in Washington has informed me he will send as many as 50 men here to aid our investigation of peonage charges, if they are needed. Our investigations are being promoted on a large scale and we are well pleased with the progress. In regard to the new so-called 'murder farm' in South Georgia, I might state that the same owner was charged with peonage six years ago, but the federal grand jury of the southern district failed to return a true bill," stated Mr. Hughes.

"The federal grand jury of this district would have returned indictments against the three Williams' boys at its session Monday but the district attorney took the position that the cases should be handled by John W. Bennett, attorney for the southern district, as his court has the greatest jurisdiction and could return stronger indictments," he continued.

"While conditions in Georgia are bad, it should not be presumed that all of the charges of peonage we received are well-founded. Such is not the case," he said, "for many negroes have filed their charges with us, and on investigation we have found no condition of peonage existing."

Should Be Informed.

Dr. C. B. Wilmer, prominent Atlanta minister and a member of the inter-racial committee, when told of the state official's declaration that the situation was beyond the control of Georgia authorities, took the position that the citizens should be fully informed of the real conditions and then, if the violations were not checked, the aid of the federal government should be invoked.

"I do not believe in requesting the federal government to come into Georgia and take charge of the situation until our people have been given an opportunity to stop the violations," he said. "In my opinion, Georgians have not been fully informed on the extent of peonage and cruel treatment of the negroes, but when they are, they will see that the law is strictly enforced and the violations ended."

Time Has Not Yet Come.

"The time has not come for the federal government to take complete control of the situation," said Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of the Ponce de Leon Avenue Baptist church, and another member of the inter-racial committee.

"I believe that if the legislature will not remove from our statute books the act of 1903, which makes peonage possible, that if we can not create a public sentiment which will produce juries that will convict in cases of lynching and the situation is beyond our control, then I would favor government assistance."

"It is my opinion that the people of Georgia will realize the existing situation and prosecute the cases without the federal government entering into full control. We

(Over)

must work to build up such a public sentiment as will demand enforcement of the law in all cases," concluded Dr. Jones.

The federal grand jury has peonage charges against J. B. Stribling, Pike county farmer; Deputy Sheriff Tom Erwin, John A. Dunnaway and A. P. Dunnaway, all of Oglethorpe, and others under investigation this week. Stribling was indicted yesterday.

FARMER AND WIFE HELD IN SAVANNAH IN PEONAGE CASE

Constitution 4/27/21
Savannah, Ga., April 26. (R.A.)—Oglesby, prominent farmer of Emanuel county, and his wife have been brought to Savannah by agents of the federal government, charged with peonage. It is alleged they kept Reese Boston, negro, in involuntary servitude, and threatened to kill him before he should work for anyone else. It is also alleged Mrs. Oglesby administered a severe whipping to the negro with a rawhide whip. They will be given a preliminary hearing tomorrow.

Justice and Bailiff Charged With Holding Man to Collect Debt

Constitution 5/8/21
Macon, Ga., May 7. (Special.)—Lee Davis, justice of the peace, and his bailiff, J. W. Ray, Jr., were today indicted by the Bibb county grand jury—the latter a charge of making an oppressive arrest, and the former charged with false imprisonment. It is alleged they arrested and detained J. B. Griffin illegally, for the purpose of collecting a debt.

WALL ST JOURNAL
MAY 4, 1921

Explanation that Georgia's peonage criminals are all of them surviving Yankee carpetbaggers shows a healthy climate—for all but the negro.

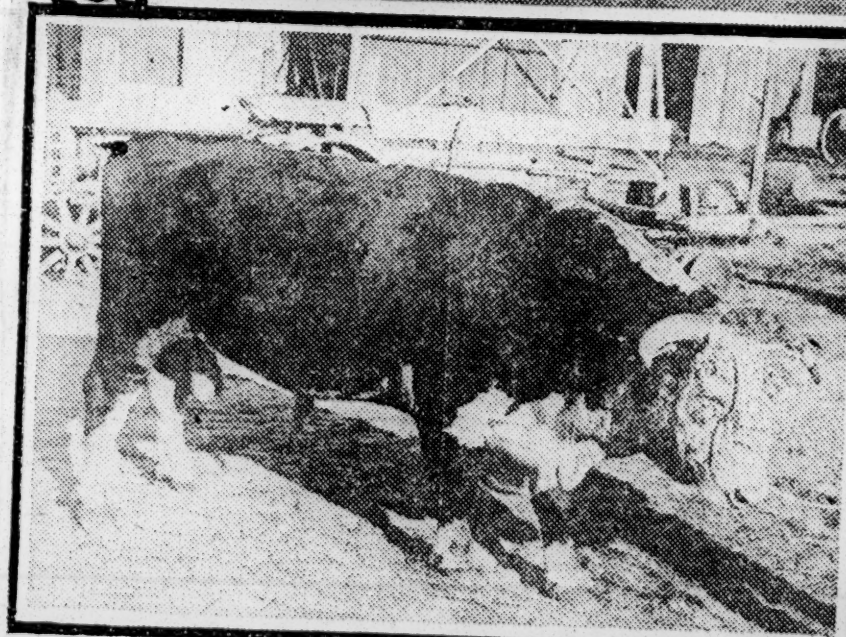
ATLANTA GA GEORGIAN
APRIL 28 1921

Negro Arrested Here Hints at Peonage Case

Jesse Hurd, negro, 28, arrested several days ago by Policemen Kirk and Woodson, on warrant from Hart County, refused to be taken to Hartville Thursday morning, saying he would be put to work on a farm. Deputy Sheriff R. M. Wilson of Hartville came for Hurd at the police station, and the negro refused to budge.

"You can just go on and kill me now," he told the deputy. "I am not going down there to get worked to death on a farm."

Constitution 5/2/21 Scenes on Second Alleged "Murder Farm" in Laurens



Top, left to right: Up-to-date methods of farming on the Hogan plantation shown by use of machinery; U. G. B. Hogan, part owner and manager of alleged "murder farm"; middle, handsome home of the Hogan family; bottom, some of the live stock on the plantation.

Agriculture - Labor Condition

Peonage Charges Allege Cruelty To Negro Helper

Two White Farmers and
Negro Hand Held in
Connection With Beat-
ing of Negro and Death
of Woman.

Cruelty to a Henry county negro is charged in peonage indictments returned by the federal grand jury against Erwin Morris, farmer, of McDonough, Ga.; Sam Gardner, another white farmer, and John Brown, a negro farm hand. The charges against the three men, who are now in the Jonesboro jail on a state charge of murder in connection with the death of a negro woman were disclosed Tuesday at the office of the United States district attorney.

It is charged that the defendants, together with three other men, administered a whipping to Jerry Navin, colored, and then attacked the home of Navin's brother. It is charged that the house was peppered with bullets and that a shot killed Navin's wife. Navin is also said to be in the Jonesboro jail.

The federal charges arose over the alleged efforts of Morris, with whom Navin had contracted to make a crop on halves in 1920, to keep the negro in a state of bondage by refusing to permit him to leave the farm without paying the sum of \$115.

PEONAGE CHARGED TO SIX PRISONERS

Sweeping Investigation of
All Cases Where Ne-
groes Are Molested, Is
Intimated.

That the government will make a sweeping investigation of all cases in the state where negroes are molested was intimated following the arrest at 11 o'clock Friday morning of three Henry county farmers on warrants charging violations of the federal peonage act, in connection with mistreatment of Jerry Navin, a negro farmer.

Peonage (Ga)

The three prisoners filed Friday morning, making a total of six arrests in the Henry county peonage case, were Hugh Morris, James E. Gwaldney and L. A. Everett. They were taken into custody at McDonough by Deputy United States Marshal S. A. Smith, who brought them to Atlanta. Jon Dean Steward, chief deputy clerk of the United States court, released them on \$2,500 bond each for their appearance for trial here on the first Monday in February.

Three other men, Erwin Morris, Sam Gardner and John Brown, were indicted jointly with Hugh Morris, who is a brother to Erwin Morris, and Gwaldney and Everett. They are being held in the Jonesboro jail on a state charge of murder in connection with the shooting of the wife of Jerry Navin.

The indictments against the six men were returned January 10, and charges that on the night of December 19, the defendants "did unlawfully combine, conspire, confederate and agree together among themselves to commit an offense against the United States, namely, to unlawfully and forcibly arrest one Jerry Navin for the purpose, and with the intent to, hold him, the said Jerry Navin, to a condition of peonage, and with the intent and purpose of forcibly compelling him against his will to work for and for the benefit of the said Erwin Morris on a farm in Henry county, to work out and pay a debt of \$75 claimed by the said Erwin Morris to be due and owing to him."

It is further charged that the men "did unlawfully assault, whip, beat and bruise him with the intent of the aforesaid purpose." According to officials of the department of justice, Navin was told that he must "either work for Erwin Morris or Hugh Morris or die."

In an alleged attack on Navin's home, it is charged that the men riddled the house with bullets, one hitting Navin's wife. As a result of her death, three of the men were arrested by the state authorities on a charge of murder.

Alexander Scores Criminal Practices Against Negroes

"If the people of Georgia were told the details of crimes that are constantly being committed in this state against helpless negroes, they would be entirely incredulous," declared United States District Attorney Hooper Alexander Thursday, following presentation of indictments to the federal grand jury last week against three Henry county men charging peonage growing out of alleged cruelty to a negro man.

The defendants are Erwin Morris and two of his tenants. They are now being held in Henry county on charges of murder in connection with the death of the wife of the alleged mistreated negro man.

"The things which I speak run all gamut from the meanest of petty cheating to deliberate and

plotted murder," Mr. Alexander said. "Ninety-nine out of every hundred of our people would utterly deplore and condemn what is going on, but something more is demanded of a civilized people and their government than mere sentiment. If the people of the state permit the continuance of conditions that now prevail, sooner or later we will suffer a dreadful retribution."

PEONAGE CASE BARES CRUELTY Supreme Circle

From the Atlanta Georgian, 1/15/21

Details of an aggravated peonage case in which three indictments were brought by the federal grand jury were bared Tuesday by District Attorney Hooper Alexander. The story included a recital of the beating of a negro, Jerry Navin, by six men after he had been denuded, and of an attack on the home of Navin's brother during which bullets were poured into it for hours and Navin's wife killed.

The indictments were against Erwin Morris, wealthy farmer living near McDonough; Sam Gardner, a white farmer, and John Brown, a negro farm hand. All were in jail at Jonesboro on murder charges, it was said.

Navin, his body lashed, also was kept in the jail there for protection. For a time, it had been feared that he was fatally injured.

The series of attacks were a result of Navin's refusal to contract for another year's employment from Morris, it was stated by the district attorney. This was the basis of the peonage charge—the only accusation possible to be made by the government.

Had Been a Tenant.

Navin had worked for Morris last year, it was said, raising a crop on "halves." At the end of the year he had raised a number of bales of cotton and other produce, which were kept by Morris. Navin was said to have gone to Morris and the following dialogue ensued:

"Do I owe you any money?" asked Navin.

"No."

"Well, I didn't do much good this year and I'm going to move."

"Then you owe me \$115," it is asserted Morris declared.

Navin went away and sought to raise the money. He moved to his brother's house on a small farm near Jonesboro. There on the night of Dec. 19 Morris went in an automobile with Gardner and Brown. He demanded of Tom Navin, the brother

where Jerry was. The brother's reply, which was evasive, is declared to have caused the attack on his home.

The men located Jerry Navin, it is said. Brown held him while Morris, thrusting a pistol into his side, forced him to agree to accompany them in the automobile. The machine broke down on the return journey and they marched the negro to the town of Luella. Near a ditch, it is asserted, they stopped and forced the negro to remove all his clothing.

"Then two men sat on his head, two others on his feet, and two more lashed him unmercifully," said David J. Meyerhardt, assistant district attorney in charge of the case. "They beat him so hard that several others standing about turned their heads so as not to see if they killed him."

The negro was said to have been asked this question:

"Are you going to work for Mr. Morris or die?"

When he agreed to return to Morris' place it was said, the beating ceased. Utterly exhausted and moaning, the negro was taken to the house he had occupied on the Morris farm.

Witnesses told the grand jury that Morris had been drinking and had given the others several drinks. About 10 o'clock that night shots began to be fired into the home of the Tom Navin. No effort was made by the district attorney's office to specify which of the defendants were responsible. The fusillade continued until after 2 o'clock in the morning. Tom Navin's wife was killed by one of the bullets soon after the firing began.

White farmers and their families living in the vicinity were declared to have become so frightened as the shooting continued that they left their homes, going to Jonesboro.

"WHOOPE'S" INDICTMENT.

Atlanta Independent
(Macon News.) 1/20/21

The sensational picture painted by United States District Attorney Hooper Alexander, of Atlanta, as to the "peonage" in which a large number of Negroes are held in Georgia, and the abuses, including murder, of which they are the victims, is perhaps more or less closely related to the fact that a Republican administration will soon come into power and Mr. Alexander would like to be reappointed to the lucrative office he now holds.

He certainly has not succeeded in winning the confidence or ap-

plause of the conservative, open-minded people of Georgia, white or black, and if he has deliberately brought this reproach upon his native state for political purposes he deserves the condemnation which is being visited upon him.

Suspicion is aroused by the fact that he is not content to go ahead and discharge the duties of his office in regard to any given case of injunction towards the Negro which may have come under his observation, but, with a blare of trumpets as to the infamy of the people of Georgia, he calls upon the Yankee to come down here and institute an "investigation" which cannot fail to do more harm than good.

There is a very general feeling that radicalism has already done enough harm to the state of Georgia and placed us in a bad enough light before the world without the demagogic extravagance of Mr. Alexander.

The Macon News feels all the more free to speak in this manner because the Negro race here and throughout Georgia knows full well that we have always championed the cause of justice for the Negro and given cordial support to every movement for his welfare.

The average housewife who for the past few years has had the greatest difficulty in securing domestic help—who has had to coddle, cajole and cater to her housemaid, her cook or her "wash-lady,"

during the period when war money was flowing freely from the Federal treasury, will smile rather grimly at Mr. Alexander's suggestion as to "peonage," and wonder, in fact, whether it was the mistress or the servant who was in vassalage.

Now that the colored soldiers have been mustered out and labor conditions in general have undertaken a change, there is a greater willingness to work on the part of the Negro help, but the conditions make any suggestions of peonage grotesque.

It is the observation of many that the Georgia farmer is willing to work at a standard of wages, paid or unskilled, and goes on his way in quiet industry, stands little chance of falling into anything akin to "peonage," or meeting with any abuse of his rights.

Every true friend of the Negro always makes it clear that any

(over)

(From other side)

fanatistic notion of "special equality" is not only an impossibility but works a grave injustice to the Negro himself, nor do the better class of Negroes entertain any such foolish notion. This fundamental fact being understood, we are sure that a vast majority of the people of the South are earnest and sincere in their desire to give the Negro a square deal.

The exodus of Negroes to the North and the anxiety of the greater part of them to get back home where they are treated better and understood better than in the North merely confirms what every Southern man, except Mr. Alexander, apparently, has known all along that the South was the Negro's best friend and that intermeddlers did far more harm than good.

In remote and isolated sections of the state it may be that unscrupulous task-masters in a few instances have taken advantage of the ignorance, inexperience and thriftlessness of the Negro to keep him technically "in debt," and the poor Negro, like a great many white men who are not so poor, is swindled every day.

But if Mr. Alexander has any evidence to show that there are cases of so-called peonage here and there, he is in a peculiarly strong position to prosecute these unrighteous "slave-drivers." That the laws themselves are adequate is proved by the fact that convictions have already been obtained for just such practices.

We cannot believe that Mr. Alexander, in his wholesale indictment of the people of his own state and his appeal for an "investigation" which is bound to encourage the half-baked fanatics in the Republican party who regard the Negro question as essential to their political salvation, has rendered any real service to the Negro himself, while he has certainly struck a sinister blow at the state which cradled him and on many occasions has honored him.

**TWO SUITS WILL
CHARGE PEONAGE
Constitution 1/17/21
Violations of Federal Act
Alleged Against Two
White Farmers of Heard**

County and One Living in Troup.

The disclosure of federal grand jury indictments charging violation of the peonage act against two white farmers of Heard county and a white Troup county farmer; the issuance of a statement by the United States district attorney, in connection with alleged cruelty to negroes in Georgia; and the announcement by Attorney Roy S. Drennan that on Monday he will file \$25,000 damage suits, charging false arrest and imprisonment, against Tom Erwin, white plantation owner of Oglethorpe county, on behalf of two negroes, are the latest developments in the peonage situation in Georgia.

Attorney Drennan announced that the damage suits will be filed for Grover White and Walter Martin, two negro farm hands, against Tom Erwin, former overseer for the late Jim Smith, millionaire Georgia planter, charging him with effecting their false arrest and imprisonment. Attorney Drennan's clients came to Atlanta early in the week and made complaints to Hooper Alexander of alleged brutal treatment during years of alleged slavery on Erwin's farm.

Never Received Cent.

Martin told the district attorney that for eight years he had been working for Erwin, and had never received a cent as compensation, being only fed and clothed. He said that on three occasions he had effected his escape from the Erwin farm, but had been recaptured after getting but a few miles away, and subjected to brutal flogging.

White said that he had been on the Erwin place for three years, and that when he once ran away, he, too, was caught and returned to the farm and beaten. The men said that they effected their escape together a few days ago, and made their way to Atlanta in the hopes of receiving federal protection.

It was learned at the federal building that Jesse Williams and Luther Greene, of Troup county, and Albert Gross, of Heard county, are under federal indictment for an alleged attempt to force Jesse Allen, a negro farm hand, to remain on a farm belonging to one of the defendants by whipping him with trace chains and beating him in the face with a board.

The statement of the district attorney Saturday had particular reference to the north Georgia trouble. His statement, in full, was as follows:

"What I said in the papers Thursday about the mistreatment of negroes in Georgia was a mild statement of the facts. In three separate matters that have been brought to my attention since then, my complaint has been illustrated and emphasized.

Murder Is Charged.

"In one of them greed for a negro's labor is charged to have resulted in a cold-blooded and most atrocious murder. I do not speak

of this positively, however, as yet, because in that particular case, while I am having a careful investigation made, the official report is not yet in hand.

"I wish to call attention, however, to a complaint made to me yesterday, and the circumstances of it, and principally in the hope that publicity may prevent a threatened crime.

"Five negroes, all apparently well behaved and industrious farmers, each working his own little farm, within 30 miles of Atlanta, have been warned by night riders to leave the neighborhood. They came to appeal to me for protection. I can, of course, do nothing. There is no violation of the federal laws in what is threatened.

The circumstances of the case and matters which have heretofore come to my knowledge in the same locality, lead me to entertain the belief that, in this particular case, the underlying purpose is to force the negroes to sell and sacrifice their little homes.

"I was much mortified in being compelled to say that it was out of my power to extend them any protection. The offense is against the laws of the state. I cannot meddle in it. But I love my state and I am humiliated.

"The people of Georgia have no conception of the cruelty with which helpless negroes are being treated. I wish I could make the state to see and know the things that are being done, and which come to my knowledge almost daily. In the name of a just and righteous God, I solemnly protest before the people of Georgia."

Atlanta Independent PEONAGE IN GEORGIA. 1/20/21

Hooper Alexander, United States attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, during this week issued a statement declaring "That if the people of Georgia were told the details of the crimes that are being constantly committed in this state against helpless Negroes, they would be incredulous. These crimes run all the gamut from petty cheating to deliberate plotted murder."

Now, Hooper Alexander is one of the leading lawyers and citizens of the state, and Henry county adjoins Fulton, where is located the capital of the state.

Such terrible reports coming from such authoritative source cannot be questioned or lightly cast aside. Negroes all over the state know them to be absolutely and literally true, but a great many conscientious whites honestly believe the conditions to be exaggerated, due to the usual whitewashing of these matters by investigators, the denial of them by representative white men from the counties where they occur, and the acquittals which always follow the trials of men charged with the offenses.

But these conditions exist, and in all the horror and aggravated tragedy in which they are pictured, and more.

We have right here in Bulloch county, near Hubert, Ga., a case

which challenges description in its horror of persecution, cruelty and death. A whole family has been terrorized into almost mental distraction by persecution and fear and terror. One member, the father, assassinated solely because he succeeded in a suit at law against his white oppressor. Attempted assassination of several others of the family. The attempted burning of the house sheltering the wife and small children of the victim of the assassination. The poisoning of the stock of several of the related families. The ordering of all of them to quit the county under death. The confiscation of crops, stock and personal property for minor debts without chance for adjustment and without legal process. These occurrences are all recent and well-known to the white citizens in and around Stilson, Ga. All the details are known, and the people either approve, condone or are indifferent and acquiescent. The Negroes have mostly fled to Savannah to save themselves, and are being cared for in the charity of the people. The terror of the Negroes who remain around Hubert and Stilson is such that all feared to lend a hand or a team to the moving of the driven, and motor trucks had to be sent from Savannah to move them. There is no exaggeration here. Word comes at this moment, when we thought that the wrath of the oppressor was satisfied, that the home and barns and feedstuffs of the man assassinated has at last been burned a day or two ago.

This tragic and bloody history is being made within a very short distance of Savannah, for this has been the refuge of the hunted and oppressed.

We have the courts, state and federal, and Negroes are importuned to have faith in the protection of the law, to bring his matter to the courts of law for justice, but oppression increases and the ignorant and defenseless suffer on.

The leading whites of these communities, including the business and professional classes, do nothing but make a passing comment and pass on. They seem to conclude that it is part of the necessary program of Negro oppression "to keep him in his place."

And there will be no let-up in this carnage and revelry. In fact, every circumstance points to movement and organization to perpetuate the practice; for witness the Ku Klux Klan recently organized.

There can be no stopping such oppression under existing agencies and conditions, for there can be no

evidence secured to convict so great is the terror and the intimidation band about.

The local police authorities condone or is powerless before the community opinion and atmosphere; the federal authority is resisted and hence powerless.

Recent terror in Hall county, including so dignified a city as Gainesville, is duplicated in Bulloch and in many other sections. And yet there is complaint of Negro labor as being shiftless and undependable and scarce. And yet how foolish such complaint when the industrious and thrifty Negro is no safer than another, and the good men who can would be sensible if they left the communities often where their little fortunes are located and where they were born and reared, and where their dead are asleep.

The promise of hope and relief and security are nowhere to be seen. If we were called upon to extend relief or advice, we could not offer any comfort; the depravity and hate of the people of these bad communities is extreme and consuming. They are destroying themselves as well and the structure of the moral and social fabric is decaying and degenerate.

There is no hope for Negroes who live amongst them and serve them until they save themselves from themselves.—The Savannah Tribune.

PEONAGE IN GEORGIA

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(See Next Card)

Agriculture - Labor Condition

(Continued from foregoing card)

"Peonage in Georgia"

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Times March 29.—Revelations regarding alleged peonage in South Georgia brought to a head by the finding of the bodies of 11 negroes employed on the Williams plantation in Jasper county, and recent letters received by a local attorney has revived interest in a habeas corpus case filed here two years ago to prevent the removal of several negroes to Oglethorpe county, Georgia.

John Mule, a negro, was arrested here on the charge of "shooting at another," at the instigation of Georgia parties, but obtained his release by habeas corpus. He was then re-arrested on a charge of shooting at a party whose name was given, and returned to Oglethorpe presumably for trial, but in a recent letter to his attorney here he stated that he had never been tried and that he was bailed out

Peonage. (Ga.)

LA-41121

and placed at work on a cotton plantation, from which he is not allowed to leave. At the trial here Mule charged that he was a victim of a scheme to place in in peonage.

About the same time the same plantation owner and the same officers came here and arrested Lula Jackson, a negro woman, her two children and two negro men. The children and the men were immediately taken back to Oglethorpe but the mother secured a lawyer and resisted requisition. She was later lured across the Georgia line and returned to Oglethorpe where she was placed at work in the cotton fields along with her children and the other negroes, none of whom have ever been given a hearing, according to the letter of Mule to the local attorney, who he urged to come to Georgia and help them secure their freedom.

CONNELL FACING PEONAGE CHARGE

Constitution 4/5/21
Prominent Pike County
Farmer Goes on Trial in
U. S. Court—Notable
Array of Lawyers Present.

Five witnesses for the government were examined Monday before the adjournment of the United States district court in the trial of Willard Connell, prominent Pike county farmer, charged with violation of the federal peonage laws, and the case will be continued this morning at 10 o'clock.

It is charged by the government that Connell illegally swore out a warrant for Cornelius Alexander, a negro farm hand, charging him with cheating and swindling, in order that he might have the negro return to his farm to be held in peonage. The defense contends that the negro actually stole a pistol from the Connell farm and left. Connell claims that the warrant was sworn out merely for the purpose of bringing Alexander to trial. Several days after Alexander returned to the farm his body was found in Flint river.

Notable Array of Counsel.

A notable array of counsel appears in the case. Reuben Arnold, of Atlanta; Judge J. J. Flynt and Lloyd Cleveland, of Griffin, are representing Connell, while the government's case is being handled by District Attorney Hooper Alexander.

The Connell farm is located in Pike county, just one mile distant from that of Franklin Huff, the planter who recently served 18 months in the federal penitentiary for peonage.

When the case was called, continuance was asked by the defense, on the ground that Sheriff W. W. Marsh, of Pike county, was absent, and that Oliver Slaton, a negro, was also absent. The district attorney objected to a continuance on the ground that the Slaton negro had also been subpoenaed by the government and that he did not believe the negro would be available for either side. Judge Flynt ridiculed the statement of the district attorney that he had information that Slaton had been warned by night riders not to appear in the case. Judge Flynt said that Mr. Alexander's contention was unfounded, adding: "I live in Spalding county, just adjoining Pike, and I know."

Slaton Enters Court.

Just at this juncture Slaton himself strolled into the courtroom, causing hearty laughter from the counsel for defense. The district attorney said he was ready to proceed with the trial.

The first witness called was Ollie Alexander, wife of the alleged peon, who told of her husband leaving the plantation, the warrant subsequently sworn out for him, his return and his mysterious death. Details of the case were briefly testified to by Cap Churn, a negro farm hand, and Phillip Moore, another negro. Testimony was also given by department of justice men who had investigated the case.

Mr. Alexander said that he believed the case would consume a week in trial, and also said that sensational evidence would be brought out in the subsequent hearings. The defense counsel stated its belief that the case would be finished within three days. The hearing will be resumed Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock.

NEGROES ADMIT FALSE SWEARING

Atlanta Constitution 4/6/21
Claim They Perjured
Themselves Before the
Grand Jury Because
Afraid to Tell Truth.

Testimony that they had sworn falsely because of fear, was the surprising feature introduced into the session of the United States district court Tuesday morning by two negroes appearing in the trial of Willard Connell, prominent Pike county farmer, charged with peonage. The negroes were Phillip Moore and Oliver Slaton.

The testimony, now repudiated by both negroes, had been given to the authorities in Pike county who investigated the death of a negro, Cornelius Alexander, the alleged peon in the case, and also before the federal grand jury. Both negroes had told how Cap Churn, another negro, had borrowed a pistol with which to kill Alexander in case of trouble.

Negro Admits Lying.

Reuben Arnold, counsel for defense, was cross-examining Slaton when he admitted having lied. The

attorney asked:

"Didn't you testify that Cap Churn had asked you for a pistol or had borrowed a pistol from you?" Cap Churn was a negro farm hand of Connell's.

"Yes, sir, I told that to the grand jury. I was staying with Mr. Willard Connell and they told me to tell that to the grand jury. I told it to save myself," the negro replied. He said that that statement was not the truth.

Slaton later repeated that he had acted under the influence of Connell and others in giving the testimony, and said also that he told his first story in Pike county to save himself until he could get away from there. When asked why he had not repudiated the testimony before, Slaton said that he was waiting until he could get in court and tell exactly what had happened.

The Negro's Story.

Moore said that the other story he had told had not been told under oath, but that now he "was swearing to it." Neither of the negroes, however, brought serious evidence against Connell, who is charged with having "cooked up" charges against Alexander, then secured his release from jail, using this accommodation as a reason for holding the negro on his farm. Alexander's body was subsequently found in a swamp near the Flint river.

Through J. A. Yarbrough, a neighbor of the accused man, the defense brought out the testimony that Connell was at his home attending his father, Robert Connell, who was delirious with fever, on the night Alexander was last seen.

The disappearance of the negro's head from the body after it had been found in the swamp and buried was testified to by Ernest Hawkins, an agent of the Department of Justice, who also said that there were other signs that the body had been disturbed. Identification was first obtained through a gold tooth in the negro's head, but later papers and cards were found in the clothing establishing the identity.

STATE COMPLETES PEONAGE EVIDENCE

Atlanta Constitution 4/7/21
The peonage case against Willard Connell, wealthy Pike county planter, now being tried in the federal district court, was closed by the government Wednesday at noon with the testimony of Franklin Huff, another well-known planter of that section who, several years ago, served a term in the federal prison on a similar charge.

It developed in the testimony that it was from Huff that Connell secured Cornelius Alexander—the negro later found dead—whom Connell is charged with having held in a state of peonage.

Following the close of the government's case, the defense began calling character witnesses, who testified to the good reputation of Connell, and his standing in the community. The case is not expected to reach the jury until Friday.

Warrant Is Introduced.

Among the pieces of documentary evidence introduced by the govern-

(From otherside.)

ment was a warrant, which is alleged to have been sworn out against Alexander, charging him with cheating and swindling, and which was not executed after Alexander returned to the farm.

Huff testified that the negro had contracted to work for him previous to the issuance of the alleged warrant, but that before his services began he left the farm and went to the Connell plantation. He stated that he paid \$175 in settlement of debts for Alexander and that the amount was returned to him by Connell.

He explained that the debts of Alexander consisted of several forged notes, said to have been given in the community, and small sums loaned him from time to time. The witness further testified that Alexander's wife came to him and asked if it would be satisfactory for her husband to work for Connell if the money owed was paid upon which he stated that he was willing for her husband to go to any place so long as the debt was cancelled.

Huff also told of finding Alexander's body in the swamp, and said he was nearby when the coroner's jury met, watching them from a distance when they buried the body after reaching a verdict. He said that Alexander's skull was separated from the body, but that he wasn't sure whether the skull and body were buried together.

Following the completion of Huff's testimony and the introduction of documentary evidence, the defense opened by putting on the stand Dr. J. C. Owens, of Griffin, who was the first of a series of witnesses testifying to the good character of the defendant.

CONNELL DENIES PEONAGE CHARGE

Pike County Defendant
on Stand Declares He
Knows Nothing of Alexander's Death.

Constitution 4/8/21
Complete denial of "cooking up"

charges against Cornelius Alexander, alleged peon, and a claim of total ignorance of details of the negro's death were chief features in the testimony of Willard Connell, prominent young Pike county farmer who is defendant in the peonage case now on trial in United States district court here.

Connell took the stand just a few minutes before adjournment of court at 2 o'clock, and in reply to questions made by Reuben R. Arnold, counsel for the defense, said that Alexander had always been "a more or less trifling hand" and had also had trouble with the negro Cap Churn, another worker on the place. Connell testified that it was commonly known on the farm that Churn and Alexander had considerable friction over the latter's wife.

With regard to the warrant which Connell is said to have

sworn out for the negro, Connell admitted the procedure, saying that Alexander had stolen a pistol from him. He said that the negro ran away shortly before the warrant was issued and that he was found in Douglasville. Connell, in company with the sheriff, brought the negro back to the farm, said the defendant, and on the way back Alexander is said to have admitted possession of the pistol for a time.

Asked For Work.

"He told me he had it, but that he had lost it in a crap game," said Connell. "I asked him if he could get it back and he said that he knew where it was and could recover it. It didn't want the negro to work on my farm, but I did want the pistol, which was worth about \$30 wholesale. He asked me to let him work for me, but I told him that I didn't need him. He later asked my father to let him work there, but my father knew that Cornelius had always caused trouble and he didn't want him either."

When questioned as to the death of Alexander, who disappeared from the Connell farm and was later found dead in the swamp of the Flint river, the young farmer laughingly denied any knowledge of it, his laughter seeming to indicate preposterousness of the idea. He said he was nursing his father and others of his family who were sick with "flu" at the time in Ellenton.

"Did you and some more men get in a great big car and go to the house of Phil Moore, the other negro for whom Alexander was working; get Alexander; put him in the back seat of the car between you and another man, and drive away with him?" asked Attorney Arnold.

"No," said Connell, smiling.

Had No Trouble.

Connell also testified that some "government men" came to his plantation before the disappearance of Alexander, apparently to inquire into the whereabouts of Alexander, who his employers were and other details. The defendant said that he had never had any trouble with the negroes on the farm and that he always "got along well with them." He also told of paying certain debts for other negroes on the place, \$150 for Phil Moore, who hired Alexander after his return to the farm and before his disappearance, and \$146 for Bill Long, another hand.

District Attorney Hooper Alexander had just begun his cross-examination of the young farmer when Judge Sam Sibley ordered court adjourned until 10 o'clock Friday morning. The defense expects to close its case during Friday. Defense, besides by Mr. Arnold, is represented by Judge J. J. Flynt, of Griffin. The prosecution is being handled by the district attorney.

The morning session was mostly consumed with introduction of witnesses who swore that there had been enmity between Cap Churn and Cornelius Alexander. James Dewberry, a negro employed on the Connell plantation, said that on the Monday night previous to the Saturday night on which Alexander disappeared, Alexander came to him and attempted to buy a gun from him. The witness said that Alexander stated he wanted the gun for protection against Cap Churn.

"Goat" Williamson, another negro farm hand, told of alleged trouble between Churn and Alexander just before Alexander disappeared. These witnesses indicated that Alexander had accused Churn of

stealing his wife, and Dewberry said that Alexander told him that Churn had threatened his life.

Early Statements.

Testimony concerning statements made before the trial by Phil Moore and Oliver Slaton before the trial was given Thursday morning by Judge Lloyd Cleveland, of Griffin. Judge Flynt and Judge L. P. Goodrich, of defense counsel.

Moore and Slaton, put on the stand by the government, had testified that their first statements were made because they were afraid to do otherwise. They said these statements were lies.

Judge Cleveland read the statement he said he took from Phil Moore and told the court that Moore made the statement to him voluntarily. Judge Cleveland further said that Moore reaffirmed the truth of his statement just before the government put him on the stand. A statement which the judge said he also took from Slaton was read, and Judge Cleveland said that this statement was also made voluntarily. Judges Flynt and Goodrich corroborated the testimony of Judge Cleveland.

Just before the defendant took the stand, R. C. Connell, his father, testified that he had rented land to Phil Moore and that he saw Cornelius Alexander only once after he returned to work for Moore. He also said that he knew nothing of Alexander's disappearance.

(Associated Press) 4/8/21
ATLANTA, GA., April 7.—Willard Connell, young Pike county planter, on trial in federal court on a charge of peonage, took the stand in his own defense late today and made the sweeping denial of the charges that he had held a negro in peonage, or that he had ever attempted to do so. He also denied that he had ever whipped a negro or threatened to kill one.

Connell is charged by the government with having held Cornelius Alexander, a negro farm hand, in peonage, and alleges that Alexander was often beaten and whipped, and that when he ran away he was brought back on a warrant charging cheating and swindling, but never given a trial.

"The first I knew of Cornelius" the witness said, "was when he came to my father's plantation in 1919, and not until the following August, when he stole my pistol from me did I have anything to do with him."

"I swore out a warrant for his arrest and learning that he was in Douglasville I went with the sheriff to bring him back. Alexander admitted stealing my pistol and said he had lost it in a crap game. He said he could get it back and would if I would get him out of jail and let him come to work for me. I told him I had plenty of farm hands and didn't want him to work for me."

Witnesses then told how Phil Moore, a negro who was farming on shares for his father said he would like to have Alexander work on his place and offered to get him out of jail. "I told Moore that it would be all right for him to get Alexander out of jail if he paid the costs and got my pistol back for me. I went with Moore to the jail in Zebulon, Phil Moore paid the costs and Alexander went to work for him. I did not get any money from Alexander nor have I to this day got my pistol back."

The witness emphatically denied knowing anything of the death of Alexander. The defense announced it would conclude its case Friday.

FEDERAL AGENTS PROBING PEONAGE CHARGES IN PIKE

Constitution 4/8/21
Peonage charges against parties in Pike county may develop as the result of statements made Monday by a negro who lives near Hollonville. He told federal officials that he and his family were held on a farm and that he had been successful in his second attempt to escape, although his family is still being held.

Federal officials who have been investigating the case of the alleged "second murder farm" in Laurens county returned with their reports Monday, but Vincent Hughes, head of the local department of justice bureau of investigation, said that his office was not yet ready to make any disclosure as to the nature of those reports.

NEGRO DECLARES HE SWORE TO LIE IN FEAR OF FARMER

ATLANTA GA EVE JOURNAL
APRIL 5, 1921

Testimony offered by Oliver Slaton, a negro of Pike county, to the effect that he had sworn to a lie before the Pike county grand jury when it was investigating the death of Cornelius Alexander, "because he was living on Willard Connell's farm and was afraid to swear to anything except what Willard Connell had told him," featured the Tuesday morning session of the trial in the federal court of Willard Connell, prominent young Pike county farmer, charged by the government with peonage.

Slaton testified that before the grand jury of Pike county he had sworn that Cap Churn, a negro, who was then living on the Connell place, had borrowed a pistol from him, and told him that he (Churn) was going to kill Alexander if Alexander didn't let him alone. Tuesday morning when asked about this by District Attorney Alexander, Slaton swore it was a lie, and that he had sworn to it because he had been told to do so, and was afraid to do anything else.

"Mr. Connell told me to swear to that," said Slaton, "and I was living on his place and afraid to do anything else. I swore to that when they asked me in Pike county, but it isn't the truth."

Retracts Testimony

Slaton denied on direct and cross-examination that Cap Churn had ever borrowed a pistol from him or that Churn had ever told him that he was going to "get Cornelius Alexander."

"I swore all that because Mr. Willard told me to," Slaton continued, "but I'm telling the truth now. I made up my mind when you all got me in here this morning that I would tell the truth. I was afraid to do it then."

At the beginning of the trial Monday morning, counsel for the defense sought to have the case postponed on the ground that Slaton, who had been subpoenaed by the defense as a witness, was absent. Slaton, however, strolled into the court at that juncture and the trial proceeded.

Attorney Reuben Arnold for the defense, in cross-examining Slaton,

read the statement that Slaton made before the Pike county grand jury, and Slaton declared that it was "all a lie."

"You're telling the truth now," aren't you?" Attorney Arnold asked him.

"Yes," said Slaton, "I was afraid to tell it then, but I'm telling the truth now."

Claims Coercion

"Why were you afraid to tell the truth then," the attorney asked him.

"Because I was living with my wife on Mr. Willard Connell's place, and I was afraid to tell anything but what he told me to tell," the witness answered.

The entire morning Tuesday was occupied with the examination of witnesses for the defense. Phil Moore, who was on the stand when court adjourned Monday, and was the first witness introduced, testified that Alexander worked on his farm when he was taken out of jail. Moore said that Alexander worked for him, but that the wages he was to receive were to be paid to Connell. He said that certain statements he had made before the trial were untrue, and that he had made them because he was afraid to tell the truth then. He also explained several things he is alleged to have said before the trial by saying that he was talking then, but that he was "swearing now."

E. J. Scott testified to finding the body of Alexander in the swamp, near the Flint River in Pike county. He said that his little boy first found the skull, and then a few yards away they found the body.

At this juncture, Attorney Arnold objected to testimony being offered about the death of the negro, declaring that the case was not a murder case, and that any such reference was entirely irrelevant. Mr. Alexander said, however, that he intended to show that the negro had been killed by some other person than Cap Churn, and that he also wanted to show how the negroes in that territory had been terrorized.

"Do you wish to show that the defendants might have had this negro put out of the way?" Judge Sibley asked him.

"That's what I propose to show," said Mr. Alexander.

Attorney Arnold said that without arguing the point, the defense wished to go on record as objecting to any such testimony being introduced. Judge Sibley allowed Mr. Alexander to proceed.

Tells of Exhumation

Ernest Hawkins, a former special investigator for the department of justice, told of the exhumation of the body of Alexander. He said that the body was identified by a letter and card case found in the coat pockets.

The prosecution offered these articles as evidence, and Mr. Hawkins identified the shoes, belt, gloves and letter as the same as were found on Alexander.

A. M. Wilkins, a colored dentist of Griffin, testified that he had done some dental work for Alexander, among other things, crowning a tooth. He said that he did not know which tooth, nor did he have any record of the work done.

Oliver Slaton was then put on the stand, and testified that he had been subpoenaed by the defense. He then denied ever lending a pistol to Cap Churn, and also branded as a "lie" the statement he said he made before the Pike county grand jury.

The trial, it is expected, will occupy the entire week. The prosecution is not expected to finish its case until late Wednesday or early Thursday, after which the defense will begin.

Labor Conditions

LOW STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LOW PRICES OF COTTON AND TOBACCO

Journal Guide 5/12/21
Has Mr. Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, seen a new light and other things? In "A Success Talk for Farm Boys," in his newspaper of April 16th, he takes the position that the low standard of living among Afro-American farmers and farm-hands is responsible for "cheap labor" in the South, and the low prices of cotton and tobacco, and that which cheapens cotton and tobacco as the result of cheap "Negro labor" cheapens white labor and makes possible the low prices of cotton and tobacco raised by white farmers and farm laborers. He has, therefore, reached the conclusion that, as the two races are going to remain together in the South, the main thing to do is to raise the standard of living among the colored people. On this point he says:

"In other words, if one race is willing to live in a shanty, wear ragged clothes, and eat cheap food, it is going to have an advantage over a race which demands better houses, better clothes, better food—unless the race which demands the better things also works more wisely and effectively to offset the other race's advantage. This is the situation that faces our white people in the South today. Every white man who is farming is working in competition with Negro farmers and farm laborers. It is the low living standards of the Negro which have made cotton and tobacco so cheap in the past. The Negro made a great part of the cotton crops, and he was willing to live in a cabin, work in rags, and eat fat meat and cornbread for his diet. Consequently, the world paid just enough for cotton to provide this standard of living."

As a matter of fact, what Southern labor was ever cheaper than slave labor on the one hand, and more costly on the other than slave labor? And the pay of free labor in the production of cotton and tobacco was kept to the slave rate and the price of cotton and tobacco remained at the old slave price up to the World War, when the unprecedented demand placed the price up to as high as sixty cents a pound. Now it is round ten

cents a pound again. Whose fault was it in the slave system that labor was cheap and consequently that cotton and tobacco were cheap? Let Mr. Poe pull down his William Rowland Helper's remarkable book on the bad effects of slave labor and consult what he says.

Who is responsible for the low farm-hand wages that have prevailed since the emancipation of the slaves, if those who hired the labor and got what there was of value out of the production of cotton and tobacco, are not, and are not now. The producers of those staples will learn a very valuable lesson from Mr. Poe's remarkable talk to farm boys, if they are not too blinded by the desire for gain to understand. And how much have those same cotton and tobacco producers done to improve the living standards of the farm hands since the war? How much are they doing right now?

Mr. Poe ignores the fact that Afro-American illiteracy has been reduced by half since emancipation, and that there has been a steady improvement in the standard of living among them. He also ignores the fact that the white farmers and farm-hands of the South have a vast number of illiterates among them, who live in shanties and subsist on fat bacon and corn pone.

The Hampton Institute has just issued a bulletin on "Negroes Are Improving Their Home Life," being a study of the subject by Miss Carrie Alberta Lyford of the Institute. We take the following from the Bulletin

"Miss Lyford outlined the operating of the Negro Organization Society of Virginia for securing 'better health, better schools, better homes, and better farms'; the awakening of 12,000,000 colored people to the 'need of more sanitary methods of living, more faithful school attendance, a higher standard of home-making, and a greater self-respect'; the uplifting of community standards through efficient and consecrated Negro leaders; the co-operating of State and Federal forces for the improvement of Negro rural life. She said: 'Encouraging signs of improved conditions are already to be seen in the home life of the Negro in many parts of the South. If good homes continue to increase in number, the next generation of colored youth will be of increasingly higher type and better fitted to meet the de-

General.

mands of modern life. So vital is the improvement of the Negro homes, one can almost prophesy that the other factors that are necessary to race progress and to national development will readily follow. It would be well, if every teacher of home-making in the Negro schools could feel her teaching to be thus vital and could work with the inspiration that such an appreciation for her task would be sure to bring."

The living standards of the white and colored farmers and farm hands of the South are bad enough, and we are glad to have Mr. Poe recognize that the standard of living among colored farmers and farm hands should be improved, so that the price of cotton and tobacco may be increased, and that education of the colored persons concerned, as he concedes, is the only way to bring about the desired improvement. What he desires for the colored farmers and farm-hands in this matter we as earnestly desire for white farmers and farm-hands.

SAVINGS OF COLORED WORKERS BUT SLIGHTLY AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOYMENT DURING INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

Washington Post 6/24/21
The Department of Labor has made a brief canvass regarding the savings accounts of colored workers in typical industrial centers as affected by the industrial depression during the period December 31, 1920, to April 30, 1921, with the following results:

	December 31, 1920	April 30, 1921
Number of depositors	47,368	47,699
Total amount of savings	\$3,809,809	\$3,721,474
Amount of savings per capita	80	78

Out of approximately 350 savings institutions, in industrial centers, carrying accounts of Negro workers, 68 banks reported, furnishing figures showing that the savings of their Negro depositors remained practically unchanged during the four months ending April 30, 1921.

The 47,368 Negro depositors as of December 31, 1920, carrying a total amount of \$3,809,809, were increased, as of April 30, 1921, to 47,699 with a total savings accumulation of \$3,721,474. These figures show a per capita deposit, as of December 31, 1920, of approximately \$80, as compared, on April 30, 1921, with a per capita deposit of approximately \$78.

In other words, Negro depositors withdrew from the sixty-eight (68) banks above-mentioned an amount of \$88,315, or an approximate per capita withdrawal of \$2, considering the increase in number of depositors. This is certainly an indication of increasing thriftiness of Negro workers.

DECLARES PEONAGE LINGERS IN SOUTH

Atlanta Constitution
Attorney-General Daugherty Accuses County Officers of Complicity, in Annual Report.

12/9/21
Washington, December 8.—Peonage still exists in many southern states, Attorney-General Daugherty has informed congress.

This was in his annual report, just published.

"The victims are almost always extremely poor, ignorant and friendless," said Daugherty. "Many times it appears that county officers conspire with the employers to force these unfortunates into bondage, which is worse than outright slavery."

The attorney-general said federal officers have been instructed to stop the practice and that a number of cases have successfully been prosecuted.

Charges Murder.

"Some of the cases in the hundreds of those reported received have been extremely aggravated and in several instances the poor victims have been murdered when it was discovered by the employer that this bureau was conducting an investigation," Daugherty said.

"In such cases, bureau agents have been instructed to work with the state authorities and convictions for murder have resulted in some instances. The very helplessness of this class of citizens impels the bureau to proceed with all possible vigor and the salutary effect is beginning to appear."

Daugherty said also that during the past year the activities of foreign propagandists have been "particularly noticeable."

"It is impossible accurately to estimate the vast amount of money spent in the United States by foreign agents engaged in exploiting the American people," said the attorney-general.

During the year, he said, communist parties in this country have been united, and many of the leaders are under orders from Moscow.

Many More Cases.

The year has witnessed a large increase in the number of cases in federal courts, due to prohibition, Daugherty said.

"The year has witnessed a tremendous growth in cases coming to the courts," said he, "the greatest increase probably being caused by violations of the liquor laws, and the inability of the courts to handle cases promptly is materially interfering with adequate law enforcement."

During the year there were 29,114 criminal and 1,898 civil cases begun in federal courts because of violations of liquor laws. Of these, 21,297 criminal and 622 civil cases were terminated.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Condition

NORTHERN FARMERS MAY HAVE TO USE NEGRO HELP

of labor from the cities and from all sources so that the necessity for the Negro help will be avoided. He says that the farmer cannot be blamed for taking what labor he can get, but he hopes that the Negro laborer in numbers, who is needed in the South, and whom, he says, does not fit into the scheme of things here, will not be brought here.

Last year some of the Negro help were brought into the section about Roverhead, but it is thought that help can be secured that will take the opportunities that are offered on the farms, especially since the demand for such help in the factories is falling off.

~~Page~~ (New York)

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Conditions

LITTLE ROCK ARK DEMOCRAT
JUNE 24, 1921

KANSAS WILL NOT TAKE NEGRO LABOR

Has No Room for Additional
Negro Harvest Workers,
Telegram Says.

No more negro harvest labor will be accepted in Kansas, according to a telegram received by John Mitchell, zone clearance officer here for the U. S. Employment Service, from A. L. Barkman, field representative of the service, with headquarters at Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. Barkman's telegram said that there was work for additional white harvesters, but that there were no places for additional negroes, many of whom have gone from Arkansas to the wheat sections.

Oklahoma has all the harvest hands needed, he said.

Agriculture - 1921.

Labor Condition

FARM LABOR WAGES DECREASE

ATLANTA, Ga., May 19.—Farm labor in Georgia is plentiful and working for less wages than a year ago, according to Hal M. Stanley, Georgia Commissioner of Labor. The general labor situation has improved since the first of this year, Mr. Stanley said, but some sections of the state report a "super-abundance of unskilled labor," at this time. Statistics compiled on January 1st showed 80 percent reduction in employment from January, 1920 to January, 1921, in cotton mills and fertilizer factories, with 3,200 railroad shop and track men idle. Mr. Stanley stated that since that time the strike on the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic Railroad has added several hundred more railroad men to those idle.

Georgia

brought
and there is
must be met some
situation says Mr. Board, the farm
has been driven to straits to get h
To the married farm labor the o
portunities offered are exceptions
The farmers paid \$125 a month during
the war period for a farm hand an
gave him his house, vegetables an
milk free. Now they pay from \$1
to \$75 a month and live the usual
privileges of house rent free, all gar
den produce and milk.

The married couple who will take
house are the ones most in demand
for they, having the house, can board
some of the single men who cannot
find a place of shelter unless they
are some fellow farmhands to take
them into their homes. In this way
the wife of the farm hand earns a
good penny also. Nor is the farm work
limited to the men, for in the harvest
season women have earned as high as
\$10 a day.

Mr. Board, through his employment
bureau, is trying to get the right kind

Agriculture - 1921.

Peonage (Georgia)

Labor Conditions

Peonage Charged

By White Woman;
Farmer Bound Over
Savannah, Ga., September 27.

(Special.)—Homer Burke, a wealthy farmer of Jenkins county, who a few days ago voluntarily came to Savannah when he learned that the federal authorities wanted him, was today bound over in \$5,000 bail on charges of peonage.

The alleged peons are Mrs. Florence Nixon, a widow, and her three boys, all less than 12 years of age. She has two other smaller children. Mrs. Nixon claims that on account of a debt of \$15 she and her family were held in unwilling servitude, and though she offered to pay the debt with her last pig, she was forced to remain on the Burke farm.

It is said that when the woman was brought by federal officers to Savannah to be a witness in the case she thought she was to come before the president of the United States.

Alabama.

Agricultural Credits — 1921

FEDERAL LAND BANK

OPENS AT HUNTSVILLE

Montgomery, Ala. 4/20/21
HUNTSVILLE, ALA., April 20.—The Federal Land Bank of Madison county is now ready to receive applications for loans on farm property but the funds at its disposal are limited to such an extent at present that no loans will be made except for the liquidation of pressing indebtedness now existing, according to R. D. Shreve, secretary. No loans can be made just now for the improvement of land. The opening of this new source of revenue it is expected, will be a great boon to many of the farmers who were caught by falling prices.

COLORED FARMERS ORGANIZE FEDERAL LOAN ASSOCIATION

Under the supervision of Mr. H. P. Stone, local agent, a Federal Farm Loan Association comprising the following counties, Clarke, Jackson, Oconee and Oglethorpe. The association is known as the Tri-County.

The following officers were elected: W. F. Kenny, president; J. S. Stewart, vice president and J. H. Deadwyler, secretary and treasurer.

At the second meeting held April 30th, in the Samaritan building, Athens, Ga., applications were filed for more than \$75,00.

This meeting was largely attended and with the determination shown by both officers and directors, this promises to be one of the largest associations in this section of the state.

The work in sanitation received a good push-off during National Negro Health Week, a number of sanitary toilets being built at the homes, churches and school houses.

This work has not been confined to communities for fifty-four sanitary toilets were built during the month of April and hundreds of homes made special efforts of the clean up week.

NOTICE TO FARMERS

The Haleyondale National Farm Loan Association is located at Haleyondale, Ga., and meets the first Tuesday in each month. It works under a charter from the Federal Bank of Columbia, S. C., counties chartered, Scriven, Effingham and Jenkins. For a loan to Federal Bank, apply thru us. For further information, write B. W. Pierce, Haleyondale, Ga., or John S. Morgan, secretary-treasurer, Box 12, Oliver, Ga.

The Federal Farm Loan Bank Bureau

BY MARTIN V. CALVIN
Statistician Georgia Department of Agriculture.

In 1916, probably earlier, a thought occurred to a constructive statesman, at that time a member of congress, that something substantial should be done legislatively for the farmers of the whole union—something that would extend to them a helping hand which would assist them, in a business-like way to do a great deal for themselves and for their respective families.

The first thought was to enable the mortgage-burdened farmer to lift the mortgage by a simple process; in another instance, to enable him to make needed improvements on the farm; in another instance, to enable him to cease being a tenant and, by degrees, become a prosperous home-owner.

The financial plan conformed to the tested policy of the cancellation of debt by instalment payments. In other words, the farmer is supplied with the money necessary to accomplish the purpose in view; then he begins to pay back the amount borrowed.

You see, the farmer-borrower starts out with an interest in the business. He can not afford to let go, and quit. Everybody connected with the transaction is an inspiration promptly to meet the required instalments as they fall due. Every payment made reduces the amount of his debt, and augments the interest he holds in his home and farm.

The Corbin Plan.

A number of years ago, the Corbin Banking company, of New York, came south through its agents—proffering to loan money on farms. The plan provided a five year term at 8 per cent per annum with a privilege of renewal at the expiration of the first term; provided, of course, that interest had been promptly paid when due. That was a liberal plan; the rate of interest was the contract rate authorized by the state of Georgia.

It is true that some managing agents exacted 20 per cent commissions on every loan written. That meant that the farmer, who needed the sum of \$1,000 in order to make good with certain commendable plans he had formulated, would receive only \$800. You see, he started out practically a cripple; he was handicapped. Eight farmers in every one hundred would manage, in some way, to make up the deficit, and pull through; the ninety and two failed to reach the goal. Result, they lost their farms. The latter became the property of the Corbin Banking company. That company did not wish results of that kind, but they had to take the farms.

The Corbin plan was good; for, if the farmer-borrower had in every instance called his wife into conference, and told her what he had done and proposed to do, and had determined that, beginning that autumn, he would lay aside four or five bales of cotton to be sold and \$200 deposited in a savings bank, the

stockholders in which were, individually liable for all money deposited in such banks, he would have had, at the end of the five year term, \$1,000 in bank with which to cancel the mortgage on his property. Having checked out that amount and applied it as indicated he would have had a small sum from interest on the money he had deposited. Exceeding few followed that common sense plan; they paid interest from year to year, and renewal was granted. At or before the expiration of the second term of five years, many farms became the property of the loan company.

Farm Loan Bank.

The foregoing statement is strictly germane to the question under consideration. This will be perfectly clear to you when you have familiarized yourself with the plan and the requirements of the Farm Loan bank. It is true that, notwithstanding all the safeguards of the farm loan bank's plan, that a few will fall out by the wayside, but the host will press successfully on.

Since the organization of the system up to December 31, 1920, 4,139 associations were chartered in the United States, 131,395 loans, which averaged \$2,810, were made. The total amount of those loans was \$369,242,464.

When questions such as this come to my attention, I instantly institute inquiry as to the place Georgia occupies in the picture; next, the place held by the other nine cotton producing states.

The record shows that Georgia had 83 associations and was ahead of Louisiana only, which state had 72 associations. Georgia's loans aggregated the smallest amount of the ten states—\$4,577,885; average loans \$2,841. It is in order to give the figures of each of the ten cotton states:

States.	Number associations.	Amount of loans.	Average loans.	Total loans up to May 31, 1921
Texas	342	\$40,816,066	\$2,958	\$41,710,791
Miss.	142	11,385,270	1,450	11,415,120
Ark.	139	10,399,310	1,627	10,574,710
N. C.	130	5,919,990	1,904	5,968,050
Okla.	122	6,979,200	2,211	7,026,900
Tenn.	115	7,637,300	2,689	7,691,200
Ala.	110	8,558,270	1,892	8,567,720
S. C.	101	6,622,410	2,926	6,765,410
Ga.	83	4,577,885	2,842	4,611,985
La.	72	5,871,665	1,607	5,890,465
Total		\$108,767,276		\$110,221,351

Possibly, you would be pleased to know how seven of the cotton states stood, in the matter of aggregate amount borrowed, with seven western states having approximately the same rural population. The rural population of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas and Oklahoma is 10,566,000. The total loans up to December 31, 1920, \$53,477,000, round numbers. The rural population of Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Nebraska is 9,232,000; aggregate loans, \$94,315,000. The amount of the average loan in the seven cotton state

named, \$2,206; that of the seven western states, \$3,873. They utilized the loan bank to a greater extent than we did.

System Successful.

On account of the world war, ten months of activity were lost by the farm loan banks. The system has proved to be eminently successful. The government does not supply the money which the loan banks lend to farmers unless the government has purchased bonds issued by the bank. The funds are provided by the sale of bonds to the investing public. To assist the banks pending sale of bonds, congress recently appropriated \$25,000,000 to the banks.

The law provides that national farm associations may be organized in any locality with not less than ten members. Farmers desirous to share, in the benefits of the loan system should write the "Farm Loan Commissioner, Farm Loan Board, Washington, D. C., Treasury department. Full instructions, as to procedure in the matter of organizing subscriptions, etc., will be sent without unnecessary delay. It is very important that, in organizing an association, with a view to the benefits of the loan bank system, capable and reliable men be selected as officers; that is pure business.

COLORED PLANTERS IN RECORD MEETING

Colored farmers of the northern section of Georgia met last Saturday at the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A., on Butler street, at the call of Samuel Johnson, of Henry county, president of the colored Farm Loan association. Farmers were in attendance representing Fulton, DeKalb, Henry Campbell and Clayton counties.

The act of congress creating the farm loan act, and the aims and objects of the Farm Loan association was fully explained, and every farmer present entered his name to the roll of membership. President Johnson announced the next meeting the first Saturday in September, when the Farm Loan association will be permanently organized.

APPRAISER GETS BACK FROM EAST CARROLL, WHERE NEGRO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION LAND IS APPRAISED

MONROE LA STAR

AUGUST 31, 1921

F. M. Gates, national farm loan appraiser of Monroe, returned yesterday from East Carroll parish, where he went for the purpose of appraising farm loans in the northeast corner of the state. Mr. Gates appraised lands for the Lake Providence National Farm Loan Association, a negro organization, which will result in loans of approximately \$75,000 to \$100,000 for negro farmers of that region. Appraisements were also made for members of the East Carroll Parish Farm Loan Association, a white organization. The last report of the appraiser showed loans of approximately \$100,000 for these two associations and the National Farm Loan Association, of Monroe. Mr. Gates was especially pleased with the work of the negro farm loan association. He said that the negroes of East Carroll parish owned their own homes as a result of the enterprise and philanthropy of Senator J. E. Ransdell, Judge Ransdell and J. E. Hamley, who a number of years ago had divided up thousands of acres of land and sold the allotment to negroes on which they had built homes. "The negroes of East Carroll parish," he said, "are among the most enterprising of that race in Louisiana. All own homes and are industrious and enterprising."